Ross Dowson archives – correspondence – 1962 "Vancouver" correspondence

01_03	Letter to Comrade (Riley), re: Vancouver branch`s authority to refuse bloc application by former Branch One
01_03	Letter Jan. 3rd & 10th to Ruth (Bullock) re BC personnel, BC coverage in Vanguard, request status of Branch 1 applicants
01_15abc	Letter to Ruth re: confusion and/or conflict between Branch and N.C., question of the West Coast editor
01_16ab	Letter to Malcolm re: status of ex-Branch 1 members
02_12	Letter to Riley, Vancouver re: PC approval of Branch`s decisions re applications from former Branch One
02_18ab	Letter to Ruth T. re: *Young Socialist Forum* in BC, progress in Ontario
03_01abc	Letter to Ruth (Bullock) re: *Vanguard* policies & politics; inter-personal problems
03_05ab	Letter to Ruth (Tait) re: Ernie T's future role in BC, on the nature of the LSA
03_05B	Letter to LSA, Vancouver re mimeographing techniques
03_07abc	Letter to Ruth (Bullock) re: fighting NDP charges against *Vanguard* and LSA
03_12	Letter to Malcolm (Bruce) re BC material for *Vanguard*
03_29 abcd	Letter to Ruth T. re: support for and a detailed critique of political line of *YS Forum*
04_02	Letter to Comrade Phil (C.) re: thanks for letter to editor and reason not published
04_02Bab	Letter to George Brown, re: why letter to editor cut; how to fight fascism
04_09abc	Letter to Ruth (Bullock) re: question of ex-Branch One comrades purportedly supported by N.O., Branch membership problems
04_09Bab	Letter to Dave McG., re: anti-party behavior of some ex-Branch One comrades
04_10abcd	Letter to Malcolm (Bruce) re: RD`s meeting with **Maurice Spector** in Toronto, and conduct of ex-Branch One comrades

04_10Babc	Letter to Reg (Bullock) re FPCC and Stalinist CCFC formed; the LSA; the national tour
04_16	Letter to Dear Ken (O.), Vancouver, re: reviving FPCC
04_20abc	Letter to Reg (Bullock) re: naming the LSA hall the "Bruce Hall"; what the L.S.A. is
04_20Babc	Letter to Ruth (Bullock) re: Toronto discussion on BC situation with Whitney group; the PC solidly behind Branch 2 and PC decision to dissolve Branch 1, movement personnel, Toronto branch organizer named, Toronto antiwar activities
05_10	Letter to Malcolm (Bruce) re: his article; CP attack on Trotskyism
06_06ab	Letter to Ruth (B.) re: Ruth (T.) candidate for Trotsky school; McGarvie statement to PC
06_06B	Letter to Dear Ruth (T.?) re: clippings sent, letter from Ernie on tour
06_06C	Letter to Reg (Bullock) re decision not to publish his letter, decision on RD`s Europe trip
06_26Bab	Letter to Milnes Landing, Comrades: the NDP and our activities; the tour's progress, Vancouver events
06_26ab	Letter to Hattie F. re: the LSA a "mass political party"?
07_15 ab	Letter to Ruth (Bullock) re: confirming her status as full member of NC
07_17 ab	Letter to Malcolm (Bruce) re: ex-Branch One factionalism; RD's trip to Cuba off
07_17Bab	Letter to Reg (Bullock) re: his NC vote on PC motion on former Branch One members
07_18	Letter to Ruth (T.?) re shipping comrades' belongings to Vancouver and RD`s imminent departure
07_22ab	Letter to Bob (H.), Ocean Falls, on Joe Hansen's tours and RD's planned tour of Cuba; trade union affairs incl. Hugh Dowson in deHavilland
09_22	Postcard to R. Bullock, Vancouver from Vienna: travels in Europe, the complete reconstruction of Goethe's Frankfurt which is also a solid industrial city

11_28abc	Letter to Ruth and Reg (Bullock) (upon RD`s return to Canada) re: mayoralty campaign publicity; Vancouver fight against expulsions (by NDP brass) & proscription defense campaign
12_01	Letter to R (uth Bullock?) re: election work; London contact
12_03ab	Letter to Nick (S.) at SWP Mountain Spring camp (US) re: Toronto Mayoralty campaign; BC NDP expulsions
12_04abc	Letter (incomplete) to Ernie (T.) re: RD mayoralty campaign; his European trip impressions
12_08	Letter to Ray of Prince Rupert re: RD's 3-month trip abroad
12_09	Letter to Ruth (Bullock) re internal matters and case of ex-comrade Skoglund
12_10	Letter to Ruth (Bullock) re BC-NDP expulsions getting press and our appeal
12_27	Letter to Ruth (Bullock) re: request for report on membership status of ex-comrades of Branch One
12_28	Letter to Ruth (Bullock?) Vancouver: how our leftwing NDP caucus is restricted and in a sense a membership formation

Vancouver

Janaury 3, 1962

Dear Comrade Riely

I brought your letter to the attention of the political committee which met on January 1st

We note that you received a copy of our correspondence dated November 16 which announced our decision to dissolve Branch One and our instruction to all who wished to retain membership in the party make immediate application to what was known in the past as Branch Two. This correspondence is in effect the minutes of the PC meeting of November 16 as the Vancouver situation was the sole point of discussion and the decision was a unanimous one.

We do not understand why you should challenge in this respect whether comrade Ruth in her refusal to accept the bloc application was acting with the authority of the Political Committee. Comrade R is organizer of what was known as Branch Two and is now the Vancouver Branch. Both as organizer of the branch in Vancouver and as an alternate to the NC she is familiar with the PC decision and it seems very clear to us in her action has operated in complete harmony with that decision. She was quite correct in refusing a bloc application when we specified individual application . We think that yourbaction was ill advised and think that it launched a new relationship with which you say you are in accord in a most unfortunate way.

We are suprised to hear that you have received no PC minutes since August. You have been forwarded all NC material in the same way as it has been forwarded to other NC members in the Vancouver area. However as soon as I am able I will go through the file and type up duplicate copies of all the material that has gone to NC members.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

January 3, 1962

Vancouver;

Dear Ruth (Bullock)

First some words about personell and your slated January conference.

As you now know the tour to Cuba fell flat on its face. Both Nic and Ken went to the Chicago convention with plans of picking up a car in Det roit so that they could go on to Miami then Cuba. However Nick arrived with no papers. Carson filled them out sent them off and they bounced back beca se some of Nick's information was in contradcition. So they are both here. Arrived back early yesterday morning and are waiting for Nick's papers which should be here any moment now. Then they will be off. One of the youth comrades has gone on ahead and they will be joining her.

I noted your comments with regards to various persons contributions and they jib with my experiences and impressions. Yes, we all agree that Vancouver should be strengthened from the center here. I notice you suggest Alan althouhg in the same sentence you refer to Ernie and Ruth being in Toronto. I am wondering since we are discussing personell why you did not suggest that Ruth stay there and that Ernie go out and join herm as soon as school is out. Ernie is probably the most flexible comrade job wise--even hotels and apartment buildings use stationary engineers. He is very well developed politically, an extremely capable practitioner of our orientation and I would imagine has made considerable progress in the course of this schooling in becoming an effective public speaker. If he were to go out of course Ruth would who by now must have made valuable connections would be a permanent addition to the Vancouver work. I am wondering if you have overlooked the possibility of Ernie going to Vancouver or if you have thought the matter over and would prefer Alan to Ernie. I have not raised this matter at all with Ernie but I would imagine that he would be more than ready to go to Vancouver if the party wanted him to do so. Perhaps you know something about Ernie's feelings on this matter that I do not--or possibly Ruth's. Alan of course is well equipped to be Vancouver branch organize when it was raised he jumped at the suggestion. Alan is a competent speaker and is well acquained with our views. It would be a great experience for him and he would I am sure develop tremendously. Of course the organizer has to be agreed upon by the branch--he has to be a comrade who has the respect and good will of everyone in the branch. So your and other leading comrades opinions on this matter--your preference is of considerable importance. I will pose the question to Ernie in my next letter--about w week or so hence. In the meantime if you have the opportunity you might let me know if you have a preferance. But you can rest assured that someone will be heading that way.

We will be holding a national tour this year. I would propose that the comrade who is staying in Vancouver go on the tour and then stay there upon arrival...sometime in late Agust or September. In line with this prop osition I would like to suggest aht neither Nic nor Ken return to Vancouver as soon as their Cuban

tour is over but stay on here until the climate makes it possible to push off on the tour. They could return to Vancouver via the tour. It would be profitable for Nick to stay here with us a couple of months. This tour would not only be in a position to profit by the NDP being involved in a national election but it could hold public meetings at almost any point on Cuba if both Ken and Nick were to stay and go back with it. I intend to talk t is over with Nick and Ken in the next couple of days. I know their absence from Vancouver will be a heavy drain on our forces but I think worthwhile. Of course if you felt that it was absolutely too much perhaps we could keep just Nick and have Ken go back. I gather he could get work almost right away and he needs the money to go to University next fall. This means that we would only have to add two other comrades to make the foursome for the tour. The plan of course would be to sell the truck in Vancouver if two or three of the four were going to stay on --otherwiseit would mean paying the fares back for too many comrades.

January 10, 1962

to carry on

The press---Vanguard--- I see Malcolm has given up the post of education
al director. Does he wish to hold onto the Vanguard Vancouver editor?
You see we have a problem--a good one--which Malcolm has not met and
probably has difficulty meeting. For instnace the last issue of the
Vanguard. We received enough material to take over 2/3rd of the paper
which would have had we published it all pushed out basic material
that we have to carry and completelt unbalance the paper. We didn't
publish it all--someof it we didn't use at all ,in other cases we cut
it up drastically. This is a dissapointing experience for comrades who
do not have much time at their disposal--to sit down and sweat out an art
icle--and then have it not appear in print or appear drastically pared
down.

Good we have some comrades who want to write and who can write.
Well we need a Vancouver editor to tell them how much space we have
whether we can carry a certain amlount of material of a specific
character....who is in a position to determine what must go into the
paper and see that that material is writtmn up and forwarded.And who
discusses anything he might think is controversial with leading comrades
to assure us that the ~~xxxx~~ evaluation is generally correct. We have to
have a clearing agent and if possible a political editor.

~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Last issue we got the item
from Ken on the Lebourdais UBC meet. I polished it up a bit and used
it as a lead for a general round-up report of other meetings. Very good.
It lacked editorial color---Mauno sent me the Sun report and I used some
indidental material from there. George sent us the Winch meeting report.
Very good, I was there atmosphere. I couldn't see rewriting what was
essentially a letter and a very good one into an article so published
it as a letter to the editor. ~~xxxxx~~ George also sent in an item on the
garment jungle. Very popular anti-capitalist article. This would have bee
good if we had nothing else in from Vancouver to broaden the paper--but
we had lots more in and much more essential Vancouver material. We had
much more important trade union questions confronting us too. So I just
did not use it--well a few lines for a note. I think if George had known
what was already on its way here he would not have gone to the trouble of
writing this material up--hence and editor. Got the edit from Ruth.
Top priority material--just what we are looking for--had to be carried.
Got a general article on the trade union scene in BC. When you see what
else we did not publish and what else we ~~xxxxxxxx~~ knew we did not have ro
room for and did not even write up you will appreciate why this was not
utilized. Not crucial material and in the light of what came our way
I feel that an editor would have told the writer that we could not use
this material.

The arrangment that I think we have to have is --we want one or
two short articels from BC every issue. There are sufficient develop
ments and problems of interest u der any circumstances that would
warrnat about 5 pages of copy in the papers 39 being allocated no
questions asked, no debate to the West Coast scene. This is automatic.
Then there are often developments which everyone of us uppreciates the
importance of and knows must be carried--such as the attack on the
Vanguard. This should be sent in and would not be counted in the
standard five pages already allocated. Then ~~xxx~~ someone has an idea
that there is some ~~xxxxxxx~~ question that is of feature interest that

someone in Vancouver ids particularly suited tobhandle. We should be notified of intention here so that we can weigh the matter--and make room by dropping something else or delay or what you will.

Xx I think that this is a fairly simple matter.

For instance with this issue. As has been usual the past while we are hard pressed for space. Even though last night we decided to put in an insert. The insert will take up the latest detailed anti-Trotskyist attack in the New Advance--YCL national paper.Since the editorial meeting last night I have already had to make a change as we received in this morning's mail a terrific interivew with the Militant editor that one of the founders of Brazil's northern peasant movement had last week. But re-Vacnouver. This issue must carry the excellent circular letter over the name of Cox-Campbel and clifford that you sent We are giving this a big play on the front page. We must we figure have a covering article on the progress of the fight. What clubs have taken a stand in defence of Press-Vanguard--who--and what they said. We want to give this a big play whether the brass retreat or not as an offense here we felt that this time will be our best defence for the future This article should be heavily sprinkled with names and quotes-facts. This article should have lots of space--probably the most important article in the paper. We want it here by January 17-Attention Mr Editor

Now as things tand--being familar with what is in the paper and what we had to leave out we really dont want anything else from the coast You see there are at least five maximax pages and more. Now this doesnt mean that we are refusing anything else. Possibly there is other material which we here know nothing about which is very important. The editor will have to use his judgement.

I am thinking about an article for a future issue of the paper. The C of Canada has allocated the period Dec 11 1961 to Febraury 22, 1962 to celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the CP. I am wondering if Malcolm would like to write somethi g on this under his name. It would be a very valuable contribution. An idea. We would make space for this --a feature article and adjust our coverage on the world crisis of Stalinism accordingly for the next issue if he will handle this. Can you make this assignment Mr Editor?

There are acpuple of items in the PC minutes which I would like to clarify or expand.

Re- the question of themformerx the comrades who were members of the now dissolved Branch one. From a talk that I had with Ken and Nick and from what they have been saying in several bull sessions there is possibly some slight confusion here. While the city executive used the word expelled and we used the word dissolved.I do not see that there is any real difference here--you expelled the branch--not the individual members of the branch--they were told to apply for memership in the Branch (the former Branch 2) which is what we told them

They were not expelled as members--we have accepted that they have some cliams on the party---we told them to apply and that their membership would be considered. Formally speaking they are not members as you cannot be a member of the party in an area where there is a functioning party branch without being a member of that branch. --but they are persons who were members and who are in the process of becoming members. They have applied. And with that their status is being determined

They have all applied have they not---what about Charlie. If anyone did not apply as we instructed them to do if they wished to carry on as members then he has taken his own decision--he has dropped out of the party on his own volition. Now these who have applied have to be dealt with as individuals. Either their application has to be accepted--or if turned down turned down with reason--formally--written reason. Since they were members and have applied to maintain their membership--should the branch turn them down they have right of appeal to the PC. I hope that this is no cause for concern. I think that we have had a substantial experience here in common. The PC is not making itself anyone's defence but outlining formal procedure.

I can see now that Lilllian presents no special problem at all. She is an NC members in so far as she is a member. She will continue to functions as such--which really means get the minutes ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ until such time as you there make a decision on her membership.

Hope we can speed up the process and clear this whole matter up. What was your decision with Harold--have you put him on probation or what?

Again on the PC minutes--item Witch hunt in BC NDP. The statement by Clifford, Cox is a real coup. Yes individual protests are not what we want but club and riding protests. Of course individual protests by big names such as Cameron Steeves would be good but we want the brass to feel membership strength. I have not been able to grasp why Malcolm has been unwilling to put his name in our paper. All the more so since he carried thr through with the statement on the LSA picture and all.has it anything to do with security in the NDP? In part this is why the PC minutes raise the whole matter of allocation of forces. We have had the impression--perhaps erroneous that many of the comrades on many occasions have been identified with the Vanguard, with the LSA etc. It is a big problem to carry on the work of the ISA with the few forces we have at our disposal and even where we have made formal decision that would keep this or that comrade clean of formal identification with Tortskyism we have had to ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ tack a bit and involve them in direct work that ~~xxxxxxxx~~ plays into the hands of the brass to build a case . Of course you have always had a more legal staus in the CCF-NDP than we have had down here. Now things are tightening up--perhaps some think only for a while that possibly the brass misjudged the situation--I do not know but it seems to me that as best we can we shou attempt to establish on a more fomal basis just wto what degree this or that comrade is identified with the LSA--with Trotskyism. Who sells the paper, who speaks at the LSA forums from the platform who admits to being a member of the LSA. For instance should they pursue their directive agains the Vanguard the matter comes up of how we would meet the charge of ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxx~~ having circulated the Vanguard. In RuthB('s case why of course we have circulated it and intend to continue on circulating it and intend to defend our right to do so. In the case of someone else we should be in a position to say yes I did no so and so a date but along with such persons a Cedric Cox I dont consider anything wrong in this--defend the paper but also possibly say well since you forbid it under this direction as a loyal mmber of the party I will cease to do it in the future.

What suprises me is that since they decided to take a formal move why did they take on the paper and not the LSA. They would be on much safer ground to attack membership in the ISA. Whether this thing goes on or not we think that we should at this time attempt to come to some understanding some allocation of focrces for the future. Probably you know that the only comrades who appear on our platform here are myself-Pat Mitchell Pat Braih, Jerry and Ruth and Ken. With Cliff's case now defintely settled

against us h e is appearing. When Pat B was attacked by the right ne admitted membership in the SEL which we knew he could not deny but denied membership in the LSA--not that he disagreed with the LSA but he understood that quite unjutly mind you the LSA was grounds for you to be ~~xxx~~aoubted as a supporter of the NDP. Ernie made a flat denial of membership in either but proclaimed and defnede his attendance of forums and freindly associatio

Well I must go and get to work on some copy. I promised the printer a cheque and some copy tommorrow morning and there is a branch meeting tonight. Sorry to be so long in taking up this lette.r

Jerry is sending you what we have of Engels on the hand

fraternally

Ross

January 15, 1962

Dear Ruth;

I am taking up this letter of yoursdated January 14 right away. I should be working on the paper however it seems that we are headed into another crisis.

n"Furthermore I think yoh owe us some explanation of why the Whitney clique had this information before we did." ...." Do you really think that a committee 3,000 miles away with a person sitting on it wh o played a factional role against the local leadership is justified in upsetting the action of the local committee and that after 6 weeks or so?"

I read these comments any many others with startled amazement--someti es tinged with a little despair. I wonder if you comrades really want a collaboration , if you want to see a leadership developed here or can it be that you merely want a rub stamp--you merely want agreement

The collaboration between the PC here and the leading comrades in Branch 2 of old has been a loyal one. Everyone here knows it has been and you have never been able to present any substantial evidence that it has not,so perhaps you should think a little as to the effect your continual calling it into question has on your comrades here For your information nothing has been held up here. The minutes went all out together. They have received no correspondence of any kind from here except for the letter that I sent to Lillian upholding your actions in rejecting the group application.

There must be a pretty sick atmosphere in Vancouver that Charlie's comments--so simple and logical should pose such big questions.

The PC sees no contrdcition between its letter of December 6 and the latest minutes. In a lengthy letter to you a while back when you were highlighting what you considered to be a contradiction between the PC's action and the city executive's I gave you my opinion that in essence they were the same--that the word expell and the word dissolution with regrads to the branch when both instructed the former members to if they wish d to continue membership to apply to the branch were the same--that dissolution was more correct.

Now you have dealt with the Riley application and you have rejected it on ~~kkkkkkkkk~~ certain grounds--disruptive-uncooperative etc.

Tell me where the difference is? You see I still hold to my opinion that the PC action is not in contradiction with the cirty executive. The PC holds to that position I hold to this position after hearing your views and I think honestly. Do you wish to force some kind of division on the matter? And for what purpose. In what way it is is it going to change matters. I dont see.

However it is your right any the right of any member of the NC alterante or otherwise to make a concrete motion to be presented to the next PC meeting. I can tell you now that unless there is more substantial material available how the decision will go and of course the decision will be binding. Oh yes you will get some support from one member of the PC for your idea that there is a basic difference in approach--Jerry will support that idea from entriely the opposite point of view.

You challenge the PC on what grounds do we question the authority of the local committee--you challenge the PC ,3000 miles away, you challenge its authority on the basis that there is one comrade on it who you consider biased. ~~kkkkkk~~ A bit ludicorous I think.

The best way to assure that they have us for some comrades in Jersey or yourself to present the idea that the PC and CE decisions are in contradiction

The PC has the responsibility to uphold the constitution to uphold our tradition. Surely you must know that anoyne against whom disciplinary action has been taken has the right of appeal to the next higher body up to and including the national convention itself. The PC in its motion recorded in January 1 minutes is giving absolutely zero to anyone . It is merely affirming the constitutional rights of anyone who is or was a member. What can the Whitney clique have a field day with here? I do not know. Yes Charlie has a right to be a member of the branch in the area. They all have a right, including Harold and Lillian and Bill. You expelled the branch to use your word but you did not expell each and every person who was a member of it from the party. You told them to make their applications and you would deal with them They have rights and you have responsibilities. You say-when we said expell we meant expell---but now it seems not quite for Harold is in the party--you have accepted him and now several months later you reject Lillian. I do not know what you mean by the term blackmail and with the authority of my letter of December 6.

There is nothing hereat all for the Whitney's to play with--but there would have been in my opinion if any body of the Fourth International had moved in against a branch as a body without formal charges, without a formal trial and then regardless of individual responsibility deprived each and everyomember of that branch all and any rights of membership.

Yes I think the formalities are important. To be sure we know all about Lillian You astound me with your suggestions that we are under any illusions on this score that we are either simpletons or scoundrels or I dont know what. So far our movement has a blameless record so far as democratic centralist formalities are concenred and I do not mean just the formalities but also the content. I think that it is most necessary that we be formally correct in our relations with an NC member.with all members but particularly with an NC member.

With regards to the West Coast editor;

It is not through any hesitation on my part that I personally have not made a personal selection of West Coast editor. I dont not recall Malcolm's motion however I do know that very shortly we were involved in a dispute with Witney and company over the whole question of West Coast editor. You will recall they were by-passing Malcolm and I even went so far as to return material they sent in direct to Vancouver for Malcolm's examination, editorialization. As far as I am concrened Malcolm is the West Coast editor and has been all along. He is the most experienced comrade by all counts in this area. He has been acting as West Coast editor and if he wishes to continue to do so, if he has the time and energy I think he should do so. If perchance he feels unable on the basis of my knowledge I would have chosen Ruth T or possibly George B however you have pointed out to me that it is not practical to ask Ruth to take this one. As for George I do not know. If Malcolm is able to carry on I would favor this. If he is not I would favor the Vancouver executive discussing this matter and striking off someone to handle this.

With regards to our position in the NDP and NDY here in Ontario. As you recal most of our comrades were not members of the CCF--most of them had been expelled . Several comrades who had not been previously known did join and had cardsbut now the leadership is refusing to give them NDP cards. Those comrades who did not have CCF cards have put in for NDP and NDY membership. The bulk of them are being turned down. Several of them there has been no response. Some of those comrades who had CCF cards are now being refused NDP cards.

The biggest problem here in Toronto is that there are few functioning clubs The St Pauls club had its founding meeting it must be some two to three months ago and it has had no meeting since. These clubs and even though which display a little activity are firmly in the hands of the right wing so the clubs themselves give us little or no leverage against the provincial office

One of these clubs has apparently boewd before the provincial executive's decision not to grant membership in the NDP to Jerry McKinney although he was secretary of the club when it was a CCF club. We are puting a battle up over this. Jerry has gone to see practially every activist in the club and has the firm support of about three or four members however I think it is everyone's opinion that the club will accept the ruling of the provincial leadership against him--for the club is quite right wing. In the youth the provincial leadership has rejected an appeal from the East End club supporting Cliff's membership. They even went so far as to write every youth club urging that he be barred from participating in any of the youth activities. However the East End club has not accepted this advse and Cliff participates freely but without membership. The bulk of the comrades membership applications are still in the hopper. The persons who are approached about t is claim that there is a big blockage in processing memberships and they have had no word. But it appears certain that the leadership id going to be able to block these applications and get away with it. There is no left wing in the Ontario NDP and not even an assrotment of individuals who will defend our right to be members. The leadership has ~~ink~~ given no reasons. Where they have turned us down this way we are in the process of protesting with mail When this is exhasuted we will have to take other moves but we have made no decisions as yet.

Generally speaking aside from the youth and a scattering of comrades in clubs that are generally inactive we are not going to in the immediate period have effective forces in the NDP. This is very unfortunate even though the clubs are by and large dead. Fortunately we have the LSA which allows us to carry on idependently, to turn up new forces that we can send in and sustain our basic orientation.

fraternally

Ross

81 Queen St West
January 16, 1962

Dear Malcolm;

I received your lengthy letter a couple of hours ago. I am in the midst of working on the paper but feel that it is essential that I drop it at this time in the hope of clearing up a misunderstanding which is mushrooming it seems to me into tremendous propostions which does no good for the movement.

I am not going to go through your letter sentence by sentence, idea by idea at this time. I will have to leave this until later. But I assure you that ~~in my opinion~~ it is my oninion there is no real differecne here, nothing that is going to cause us any difficulties from the Whitney clique, nothing that is going to bring any difficulties to the party, in ~~my~~ the relationship of the Vancouver branch and its leading cadre and the PC--nothing unless we let it do so.

There has been no change in the PC positionof the PCat all in my opinion.

~~In my opinion~~ It seems to me that what I see as a process with stages has been in some comrades minds been telescoped into a fact. To illustrate the problem look what has happened in two cases.

Lillian was a member of a branch--the branch was expelled or if you will dissolved. She applied for membership in what is now the branch in Vancouver. She was refused. ~~Now~~ Being rejected from membership in the functioning party body in the area she is no longer a member of the party.

Harold was a member of a branch--the branch was expelled or if you will dissolved. He applied for membership in what is now the branch in Vancouver . He was accepted. Being a member of the functioning party body in the area he is a member of the party. I

In both cases we have here longstnading members of the party. While they have records their individual records as such obviously as they only a short time later led to totally different actions from the branch had nothing to do with their status at the time when the branch which they had been members was dissolved-expelled

~~A~~ comrade here asked me what was the situation with regards to them after the branch which they had been members was expelled-dissolved He asked me what was the situation with regards to them all--for instance both Harold and Lillian. Were they expelled? Expelled is a fixed category a finished state. But the expulsion-disolution of the branch they had been members of didn't result in a final state---it laid the basis for a further development which itself resulted in the final state--in one case membership in another case non-membership.

"re they members this comrades asked after the expulsion-dissolution of Branch one or arent they members. I said my asnwer must be dialectical. They were members I said—some in the process of becoming non members and others in the process of becoming members

and I wouldnt object to the word "are" being used

we neither expelled them dropped them or what you will-they se.ttled their own relationship

Those if there were any who did not apply for membership in the branch settled the matter on their own--they became non-emembers by their own action. But for the rest who applied for membership in the branch--from Harold to Lillian the dissolution -expulsion of the branch only laid the basis,set things into motion, made a change of state but not of quality. To reach the change of quality the branch had to take its action. It has now taken action with regards to Lillian and withregards to Harold.

I sense that you feel that in someway the PC and the branch are going to come at cross purposes. I do not know why. The branch has done exactly waht I would have voted for if I were in Vancouver in the case of Harold and also in the case of Lillian. Where the PC minutes talk about the right of appeal of the ~~xhxbxmx~~ members of what was branch one it is giving nothing at all. If you will check with the constitution you will note that anyone can appeal to a higher bbdy Surely no one is suggesting that the expuslion-dissolution of branch one closed all doors for persons who had been members of our movement in some cases for twenty or more years. If they were to suggest so I would say that such an action has nenver ever taken p place in the entire history of our movement and would bconstitute the most cynical and outrageous ~~xxxxxxxm~~ vilation of accepted pracitcies of democratic centralism [redacted] Some might say well the results are the same so what does the form matter. But in my opinion strcit adhere nece to the forms of democracy are very important.

Possibly Lillian will appeal. Well we will handle this without any great fuss or muss you can be sure. This chapter is closing.

Ruth if I recall correctly in her letter talks about Harold being a new member. This to me is formal logic stretched to its absurdity. While we do not in any formal way ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ differentiate ~~xxx~~ between old members and new members Harold's former membership its good aspects cannot be ignored. Some only want to recall his bad points, the bad experienc es we had with him. Well Lenin said of Zinoviev the October episode should no not be ~~xxxx~~ forgotten but it should not be used against him. To be sure Harold should be let know that he must not conduct himself as a broekr for Whitney and others. But he also must be accepted into the branch wholly and fully, welcomed. A chip on the shoulder atititude is almost a guarantee that the experience will be a bad one

I hope that you do not think my comments above are pedantic--as they are not meant to be such at all. Nor am I trying to cover over things that at a later state will all boil up and under worse circumstances for the party I just think that there are no real problems here at all.

warmest regards

Ross

February 12, 1962

Riley
Vancouver

Dear Comrade Riley

Enclosed please find the minutes of the PC which deal not only with the handling of the $7.50 money order you forwarded in youre letter of January 25 but also the actions of the Vancouver branch re membership in the party of Graham and yourself

As you will recall Branch One was as a whole dissolved and the comrades wishing to retain membership instructed to apply to the Vancouver branch(what was formerly Branch Two) It would seem apparent to us that membership dues would be payable to the treasurer of the Vancouver Branch and not the national organization. Since we are not aware as to whose dues this amount covers we have returned the money order to you to be disposed of as you and those persons involved see fit.

You will also note the PC's endorsation of the handling by the Vancouver branch of your and Graham's membership applications. You did not receive the minutes of the Toronto Branch following the dissolution of Branch One as you note in your letter for the minutes had been sent not to you but to the branch which was dissolved. If you had brought this matter to my attention sooner and requested that they be sent to you in your capacity as an NC member I would have been pleased to send them to you. I must state in reply to your remarks in your letter of January 25 that you have received up to this date a copy of all correspondence and all documents that have been circulated from this office through the national Committee. Now that your membership application to the Vancouver branch has been turned do down and that the political committee has endorsed this action you will appreciate that I will be forwarding no more national committee minutes as you are no longer a member of the national committee.

fraternally

Kent

February 18, 1962

Dear Ruth Tate;

I am sending this note along to you in care of Ruth B as I do not have your address handy and Ruth would like to read its contents anyway.

Thanks for your letter of solidarity from the Young Socialist Forum. The temptation to publish as you obviously think it should be is very very strong. The Vanguard could do with a few gestures of solidarity from other sources—particularly sources that have such strong ~~xxxxxx~~ encouragment from persons like Colin Cmaeron. However I do think that it would serve our purpose at this time—our meaning both the YSF and Vanguard if they can be separated in anyway.

I would think that the mere appearance on the scene of the YSF strengthens the Vanguard which is now under attack by the NDP brass out there. While we have not heard what the charges are against the comrades I would take it that the LSA and Vanguard are involved. Since Cameron has oked the YSF he has to some degree to defend the Vanguard and indirectly the LSA But from my knowledge of our experiences with Cameron and his type I do not think we should formally force their hand as we may end up with nothing,even condemnation of the YSF

Yourletter is an extremely strong statement of support of the Vanguard and of the LSA , so much so as to amount to complete identification. What repercussions might such a letter have among the youth with whom we hope to collaborate? I am wondering if it wont cause more trouble for the YSF? and the values of the gains for the Vanguard. I dont know where the trials stand. Do you think we will succeed in sustaining our membership rights or with a little help that we will. My own impression is that all the odds are against usur comrades on trial, against the Vanguard and the LSA, at this time. If this were so it would seem to me to be bad policy to get the YSF too closely identified with the L SA and Vanguard. We would not want close off all avenues of retreat. For instance should the LSA actually be proscribed , While Malcolm, Ruth and some of the others would not comrades like yourself should be in a position to have a genuine appacne of having no formal association with the Vanguard and the LSA.

~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ I will not put your letter into t is issue of the paper and in fact will make no mention of the YSF this issue. If you are not cnnvinced of the correceness of my arguments take them up and we can always decided to put it in the next issue.

It was a pleasyre to read you first issue. Good to see that along with Cameron's Lefaux's ltters you got Steve's, Chicalo's and the Table Officers letters also. Quite an achievement. What kind of response did the paper get in the clubs and now that the NDY leadership have seen the contents what do they have to say. Are any of the BC NDY leadership members of t e YS Forum, the editorial board etc. How do they see the WSF in relation to the national NDY paper VIEWPOINT

Our youth here have done so little-actually nothing-with the official press and so lacking in integration is a youth movement that has hardly got underway that I am sure you will agree that it would be a mistake for them to completely identify themselves with the YSF--for Dick for instance to write for it when we have not even made an attempt to work with Viewpoint. In my opinion our youth here are only now really coming to grips with our orientation .We have had a tend-

ency to sit in the two clubs and conduct ourselves in the circumscribed ways of the old YSA and not as if we truly were members of ,aprt of a movement which is a primary political organization of the Candian working class and student youth. The old man here has been pushing them to hold a big dance--missed St Valentine's day but hope to succeed with St Patricks and when the election day is set to arrange for a mass meeting in Massey Hall with Douglas specifically addressing himself to the youth.....s NDY sort of youth for Christ meeting you know--but this time youth for a better world. We need to move the mass movement in order to develop our cadre

The YSA is coming slong fine here in Toronto. Steadily recruiting, learning how to work. They have had two sessions of a class on the Communist Manifesto and have had 16-17 in attedance at both. I think for security reasons they have decided to announce that the class is being held by the LSA for the youth--- it is held here down in the basement.

Possibly you have written to the youth all about the paper--what the nature of the YSF is and its relations to the YSA etc. When John is down here next I will ask to see the correspondence.

We havent yet decided on whether Ernie or Alan should be headed that way Alan was unable to attend last Sunday's meeting and we had to go ahead or Jerry would not have been able to attend. Havent heard from Ernie for a couple of weeks. He must be bogged down with studies But from his last letter I felt that hey was almost settled down in Vancouver. Actually it is a complex and serious matter for us here as we dont have any plethora of developed comrades. We will be deciding in about a week or so. As you know Ernie was one of our few experienced NDP workers and had many of the youth connections. As for Alan while the teamsters situation has detoritated over the past while things will be moving again in that area and he is one of our key men there.

But I must get on with the paper

fraternally

Ross D

March 1, 1962

Dear Ruth; (Bullock)

To let you know I am still around I am starting with this note to take up several of your letters that have accumulated. Have to haldne the store tomorrow and also speak at the froum so might not get very far.

A few comments on the paper. Malcolm raised the matter of numbering the pages and you bring to our attention some criticisms --one of them that our pre-occupation with Stalinism -Trotskyism depriving the Vanguard of its NDP left wing character. Yes we have not numbered the latest and the previous inserts and have tried to pack everything on the Stalin-Trotsky ~~xxxxxx~~ matter in the insert. This allows us to remove and insert this leaf in relation to the circumstances that confront us. For instance we have been doing quite a bit of circulation of the paper --at the mass meeting held in Hamilton for Douglas. There we did not circulate the insert. We have also been concentrating some effort on the CP and of course we gave out the insert for sure. The insert is not numbered so that the paper is complete without it--has not date on it either so that it is more or less timeless. We have on hand a consderable number of copies of both inserts which should be useful in the future for new persons coming around Of course all subscribers have been getting the inserts. But we figure that most of them having been readers for a while will not be alienated by ~~xxxx~~ what may appear to be a pre-occupation with Trotskyism-Stalinism on our part. After this issue it looks like we will be toming down on the CP and Stalinism--that is unless we get some solid leads Off hand I cannot see any real purpose being served to mark this insert off from the paper to the degree of printing it on different colored stock etc. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ I do not see any advantage of advertising so to speak that we think this matter is extraneous in some way--of not being of concern to our general NDP readers.

As for your not naming McKenzie and the Saskatchewan article not naming Douglas. I would fight this concept with vigor. Douglas' action was dispicable--a very clear and simple exposure of Douglas involving the mostbelementary democratic rights of the membership. Not only was his action a negation of elementary democratic rights which we are most vitally concerned about but it even involved the most vital question of all--the anti-war position of the party. You can really lead an effective struggle for your principles against anonymous persons and on unknown questions I dont think.

You ask why dont more of the comrades use their own names in the paper. Well Alan (Adair) has a NDP membership. In fact the only persons who have actually been refused membership in the NDP so far are myself, Ruth and Jerry, Hugh, Vern Olson and a Mrs Ostrey. All the rest either have memberships or their applications are still in the hopper--probably have been refused on the committee stage but it has not yet been formally handled by the provincial council. The decision of these 6 was only known about two weeks ago ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ through connections we have which we cannot compromise ---Jerry only got his letter 4 or 5 days ago. The isuation here is as I think you know that should anyone uf us get refused at this time we havent any possiblity of getting any support in the clubs to carry on a fight. It would all take place on the top. I cannot see any merit at all in more comrades actually using their name in the paper. We dont have to have them as we have a couple---from the point of view of the paper it would be better to have more but not from continuing work in the NDP.

I dont know what the insistance on BC names has to do with it but as you know we have had no article since the paper was published with a genuine Vancouver name and there are two persons openly connected with the Vanguard through their names being on the LSA statement. I do not think that the paper should be anonymous as far as Vancouver is concerned--I think that there should be articles from time to time with either your or Malcolm's name on them. I do not see why not.

I hope you find yourselves in agreement with the editorial. on Argue. There is nothing in Argue's critiesism for us in my opinion. When he talks about a clique of unionists being in control, dominating the party he is not taking in terms of the trade union bureaucracy and their manipulation of the party as I read things. He is talking about the party being a class party--being a labor party, being based on the unions. I think there is nothing in anything he said for us and that it would be a serious error on our part to make out that there is. We have to brush him aside as a rotten opportunist whic h he is.

Read your comments with regards to the ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ trials. Since your letter is dated the 21st I take it that the council meeting has come and gone. Wasn't Angus able to tell us just where it all stands and what it going to happen next. I would have thought it came up. Did he get down for the council meeting

Re

When the matter of who is and who is not coming to Vancouver. The school does not end for another three months so that when it was raised only a month or so ago I had no idea that there was such a big hurry to make a decision. As you note it is certainly not my intention to "test these young people ...to test their utter loyallty" by separating them. It so happens that Alan wants to go out to Vancouver and this desire of his cannot just be brushed aside. It seems to me that t e whole matters has got out of hand---it would seem that the decision has already been made. I will try to get the PC comrades together this weekend. Of course it is your right and you will have a full explanation of our reasoning--of course

Thanks for the note from Angus. I dont see anything about the Cox Campbell Cliffor letter and his thinking it a mistake. At anyrate what the hell are we to do when the brass moves in on us--fold up. If there is any criticism to ~~be~~made of it--it would seem to me that it was the sending of letters from individuals and not mobilizing clubs against the brass--but then I do not know if it was possible, probably wasn't to do more than we did in this direction. You will appreciate that Angus really doesn't know what has been happening. My correspondence is sketchy--he knows of the situation pretty much I would imagine from what Bill tells him and the odd letter you can manage to get off. He wrote me a lengthy letter asking about it and I intend to take time out over the week end to send him the apporpriate material with comments so he has an accurate picture. Angus of course is divorced from the problems of party building in the real sense--but he is a valuable man

I dont know about the NDP at the time of the convention having a constituon or rules but I am solidly in favor of the distribtion that took place there.

Ruth I received your letter of Jan 23 alright ~~xxxxxx~~ which enclosed Jerry's letter to Nick. An outrageous letter but you must appreciate it is a letter from him to another comrade. This is the first that I have heard of it-- I was going to say that I had no inkling of any such correspondence being carried on but then I recall something not unrelated to this type of thing--I cannot recall what it was but I told him off about it and he did not go through with it. Yes it could well be brought up to the PC because it certainly is PC business however I do not see any point. The rest of the PC members' relations with Jerry are none too good. As you know he is quite an insensitive man, inflexible, and inflexible on some of the most unimport ant matters. Here we are a samll committee which so easily enables anyone just to see from discussion what basis of support any idea he puts forward has. ~~Xxxx~~Suprisingly he forces vote after vote in which he is set against everyone else---a persistent minority. Really embarassing---embarassing for the other younger comrades for the atmosphere is generated that they are my stoodges. At the last PC meeting I tried to talk to hi about his manner of argument with comrades and his relations with another leading comrade in the Toronto branch but it served no purpose.

But after all Jerry is one persons---and nome of us down here are his tools his stooges but are attempting to be serious and mature Bolsheviks and can assume no responsibility for his actions and resent very much that any of his actions should be used against us PARTICULARLY WHEN WE KNOW AABSOLUTELY NOTHING ABOUT THEM

I agree that the matter of this letter should be let drop--althouhg I wi ll remember it

I have time for another matter in this letter. That is the material for the paper. I sincerely wish that the whole matter of contributions is more closely supervised in the future from out there. If we dont do this I am afraid that we are going to alienate and discourage comrades from writing for the paper and from developing in the process. Of course it is good to get a lot of material from which to chose---the lastbtwo issues we have had all kinds come in. Of course I can say fine and just toss the stuff aside that I dont think is too good or there is not room for. But this puts me in a bad position with out of town contributors. I can tell Milton Acorn that no we cannot publish another poem in this issue by him--- we have two already which is one too many--and he takes it from me--I satisfy myself that I have made the case as well as I can--and if I dont make it to him to his satisfaction well it is too bad. But with comradesbut in B.C. it is a different matter. We had to dump a lot of stuff from this issue--as you must have noticed we had nothing on France. George sent us a report of one ofvthe forums there--we had planned to report one of the forums here---neither were published. Phil Cournyeur sent us an itemm on the right wing on UBC campus. Much too long altogether too little meat in it for our paper--perfect for the YSF incidently. Of course when you refuse some comrades' copy they look throigh the paper and ask themselves what the hell is that in there for when mine wasn't printed. In some cases I would be hard put to explain but you can appreciate that sometimes I get stuck wit carrying material that I do not think is of a very good standard--there are often circumstances that require us tocarrying something which we are not particularly fussy about. If the editor had seen Cournyeur's article before itscoming here he would have easily be able to get him to cut it down or drop it—I am assuming that this comrade has such a relationship with us. And on the basis of what esle was sent in that the editor knfew about I a. sure that we would have convinced George to write for the next issue--after all I gather he has little enough time. If this can be rectified I would appreciate it.

But I must close--particularly wanted to take up this new problem that Reg raisi in the last papragrpah of his letter--the expansion of the LSA vut will leave it till the week end when I can more seriously come to grips with it.

but

fraternally

Ross

81 Queen St W, Toronto
March 5, 1962

Vancouver

Dear Ruth

Sorry to be so long in taking up your two letters. But here is the letter that you want to receive---enclosing the information on the political committees decision on who—Ernie or Alan—is to go out to Vancouver. We met last night and decided that

Ernie is to go. The decision was uanimous. What made it so--what settled the matter-was your involvement. If the matter were to be decided on the relative merits of Ernie and Alan and our understanding of the Vancouver situation and the needs of Toronto it would have been a very difficult decision to make.

Thanks for your honest, your candid comments on Ernie. Naturally I have not shown these comments to anyone--other than to Alan—who is a personal friend of Ernie's and will say nothing of it . Yes, in many ways Alan would be better able to meet the problems in Vancouver---Ernie tneds to become overwhiemed in the problems of making tactical approaches , tends to get diverted from implementing the basic line. Hence he has what appears to be a certain political softness. But Ernie is also a revolutionary who is quite familiarbwith our theory and so what happens --As I have witnessed it--is that when he gets into a situation that this tnedency of his takes him and comes to a realization of the trend towards vilation of our principles--he rears back --pulls away. Ernie has considerable pride in himseif--a good thing for it project= him forward, but sometimes it interferes in his making an honest apppecuation of a situ aton and his role in it, and inhibits him from taking tactical ajustments. The comradeshi of the movement is very important to Ernie. He is a leader who enjoys being part of a tea= of comrades. But he is very sensitive, overly snesitive to criticism. But for the recent experience of the school and your being there I am not too sure how he would make out in the rought and tumble Vancouver atmosphere. Ernie doesn't know how to take criticism-- even from those whom he considers hus personal friends---of course not many of us do know how. He cannot bear candidacy when it concerns himself. If the school di nothing else it may well have helped to correct this problem of Ernie's. In fact I told him this—that I hope that when he gave reports etc that there was searching and honest criticism from the rest of the students—gad from a few conversations with Kerry I think that there will be lots from that source.

The Vancouver situation demands mature leadership, leadership which is politically developed, experienced, that is systematic, that is patient, that knows how to overlook all kinds of things in the confidence that it knows where it is going. Alan is more systematic in the work of the party, he gets to the point quicker than Ernie but he is a man of so few words that he has difficulty in convincing others of his views and plotting out a course of action to achieve his point. While Ernie is one of our few real connections with the NDP here and is a serious loss from this point alone, Alan is our key Teamster where there is not much doing right now but where we have done some doli work which we can ill-afford to jeopardize

I think that you can be of enormous help to Ernie, in rounding him out to being what he really wants to be. Dont let him overwhelm you with his affaction—he does that you know. Help him to regularize himself m, to discipline himself—and beware he is prickly As I mentioned your involvement was perhpas the decisive factor. From all that we have heard you are they key comrade in the youth work. This is the most promising field of activity we have and it was felt that your withdrawal from it in the Vancouver area would result in a serious set-back. We gathered you would be going back to school there next fall so it would seem somewhat foolish to bring a rupture into this work

Now as for Ernie coming out right after the school. I hesitate to answer this at this time. This tour can be the most important yet. I do not know at this time

who will be available for it. I think that Nick is solid. Ken committed himself but I have heard some small talk that makes me wonder if the commitment will be honored. And we need some solid and politically developed comrade along . We will have no trouble getting four but we may have in getting the solid and politically mature comrade. We will work on this and let you know as soon as possible. This tour with Nick and Ken just back from Cuba and Latin America would be able to rally a fair sized meeting at almost any point we would like. Then there is the probable election.

I gather from your Feb 16 note that Ernie must have passed on my irritation with a letter that he sent to Alan and which Alan showed me--which is written entirely on the assumption that ET is all but there,in Vancouver. This is really so much water under the bridge. But Ruth has no basis whatsoever for acting on the assupmtion that Ernie was coming out. I dont want to bother looking back in correspondence but I am quite sure that when the request was made that someone come out--it was Alan's name that was mentioned, not Ernie's. I thereupon asked Ernie waht he thought of his going out and what he knew of your plans. Ernie takes Alan for granted---he wrote me an apologetic note after a long silence that Alan gave him to believe that should he ET want to go Alan was agreeable---as if we were not there,so to speak.

But this is so much water under the bridge and I would appreciate it if you would destroy this letter with the comments about Ernie in it--not that I would not stand by it but no purpose is served by having it available tomx and I would just as soon think it having been said that it is xxxxxxx merely noted for what it is worth, not xxxx in itself used in anyway.

Yes, the Vanguard certainly will mention the YSF--in the next issue. Hope you have us on the exchange list

Feb

I am a little uneasy about a few comments in your letter of 22----this talk about an association of BC socialists---changing the name,etc. I noted in a report of the conference some comments about a bad use of the xxxxxxxxword party in referring to the LSA. Yes, this is dangerous security wise and from the point of sensitively carrying out our orientation. We are a league and part of the NDP. But noetheless the LSA is the Trotskyist movement here in Canada. not somekind of braod even centrist left. We would be interested in promoting such a left, encouraging others if there is a solid baissis for such a formation--if there are leftists who are available who are not capable of coming closer to us at this time. Such a formation would provide us with a much braoder field of work and help us to really build the LSA. In the meatime its absence here in Ontario for instance trhusts left inclined workers closer to us with our developed program, the LSA. It would be a big error if any decisions were to be made in this area without a full and rounded discussion throughout the party. I brought this question up to the PC last night and we decided to do nothing as this time as our inofmation is very sketchy and Reg has promised us a full report. If the comrades are moving to any concrete action in this direction I hope that you will upon my expression of doubts in a letter which I do not want you to use hold them back until the party gets into the picutre. Vancouver as perhaps you know has a tendency to make decisions before discussion, to present us with fait accompli

No I didn't "want to test these young people---to test their utter loyalty" by doubting that Ernie should be the one to go to Vancouver, as Ruth B wrote. The decision has been made--on a correct political basis--with due account of the personal factors and so we have complete "confidence that Ernie can do the job" out there with you and the rest of the comrades. We will help in anyway we can

fraternally

Ross

at .

March 5, 1962

LSA
Vancouver

To the comrade who takes on the extremely important tho often thankless task of puting out notices etc with the newly purchased mimeograph machine which we understand is a very good machine.

Dear comrade;

We received a copy of the leaflet advertising the Hazen Argue resignation meeting. Thank you very much. A considerable amount of care has obviously gone into the leaflet, along with costly stencils, paper etc. Anyone who can do as good a job as this can do <u>with just a couple of devices</u> a qualitively better job, no extra time, energy just the expenditure of a small amount of money which I myself for a long time delayed from spending to my regret. I want to form a bloc with you comrade to press upon the treasurer that it is essential that this expenditure be made.

I am enclosing a copple of sheets that we have run off in the past few months that I dragged out of the scrap pile——one that we had thrown away as the impression was not good, ink had not yet been run through or something of this type

For your information I an marking down what devices we have here on hand to get the rather amateurish jobs that we have been getting here. You may want to get other devices but upon investigation we have found them a great aid;

Our machine is a Gestetner and so we have bought Gestetner devices. We use Gestetner stencils exclusively

Lettering Guides——

Ref 164 $\frac{1}{8}$ in
Ref 124 $\frac{1}{8}$ in
Ref 114 $\frac{1}{8}$ in
Ref 124B $\frac{1}{8}$ in
Ref 104A $\frac{1}{8}$ in
Ref 114B $\frac{1}{8}$ in
Ref 102 $\frac{1}{4}$ in
Ref 102B $\frac{1}{4}$ in
Ref 121 3/16 in a luxury

Shading plates

Pattern 2, Pattern 4, Pattern 8

Stylus

LGS 2, 3, 4, plus a holder
SP 4
BSP 3, 1,

Gestetner also publish an excellent guide entitled STENCIL TYPING HINTS which we all wish we had long ago. I am enclosing a copy of the Gestetner accessories list. If they do not have an office in Vancouver we would be pleased to act as your agent.

Please recognize receipt of this letter.

March 7, 1962

(Bullock)

Dear Ruth;

Received the copy of the charges and your reply. The latter seems to me to be very good. And here go a few thoughts on the matter.

I am suprised to see Lefty included in on this charge which would appaer to apply to the LSA and since it doesn't mention Press certainly only applies to Vanguard. Their inclusion of him mxy prove very useful to us. It would be good if we could pull off such a maneuver as to discredit the whole charge by exposing its falsity when being applied to Lefty. Probably you can work something out on this.

Surprised also to see Reg included. You, Ruth, and Malcolm would seem to me to be in a totally different category than Reg. Is Reg a member of the LSA? You should considerx the adviseability of him not being one. At anyrate you and Malcolm are and your involvement with "another organization" and the Vanguard are totally different. The inclusion of persons with widely varied degrees of non involvement and involvment under the same blanket charge could be used to blow the charges and the trial up.

I think that the point of the trial being held in the North Van constituency is well taken--an open trial. I thikn there are other angles. Why are the charges going to the highest court a provincial exeautive sub-committee right off the real. Why doesn't the constituency executive oxx lay the charges. What does the constitution say on this. I can imagine that anyone can lay charges but it would seem to me that the charges should be haid and heard first on the constituency level--you are a member of this unit. Here is where you function and are known. Should we be unable to do anything about this with the prominicial executive we should consider taking the whole matter into the constituency and lining up the constituency organization behind us and against the provincial executive right off the bat. Establish a change of venue as they say. This involved the comment you make--that "thise who laid the charges are also the trial committee," an impossible situation

Yes, of course we must have full particulars as to the nature of the disloyalty and the policies of the Vanguard that are inimical to the NDP's policies.

I am suprised that there has been no preliminary hearing which would acquaint the exeuctive as xxx to the vailidity of the charges that someone? has laid and at the same time acquaint the accussed with the nature of the charges. A whole stage has been by-passed--those who make the charge--the provincial executive xis the same body that will assess guilt and pass sentence. Impossible.

Our main line of attack it would seem to me is that we are dealing here with an extreme example of an attempt to impose thought control on the NDP --to decalre guilt for what are alleged by persons that certain thoughts which they happen to disagree with are dangerous thoughts in so far as the movement of which we are both a part is concerned. This whole concept is alien to all the normal traditions of justice and merality. A person cannot be decalred guilty for thoughts which he may or may not hold, thoughts which he declares are his or others interpret are his . One has to be charged for acts, for deeds. What overt act have the charged committed, what have they

done to the detriment of the movement. We demand that these be spelled out. All our deeds and actions have been quite the opposite. Even our declared aims , to win the party to a class struggle program and a socialist objecti ve, to build a new leadership are not anti-party though we will conced e that the present leadership which not only supports the present policies which we submit to and carry out has a certain interest in interpreting ther as such.

and so we get to the nub of the question. They are trying to butlaw differences of opinion within the party, they are trying to declare outlaw and type of left wing formation in the party. This has not even happneed in Britain--the Bevanites, Victory for Socialism--Gaitskell has build his own right wing group--I goget the name of it but it is mentioned in back issues of Vanguard. This is a violation of elementary internal democracy.

I assume that we are not going to sit on this--that we are going to acquaint anyone and everyone of this development and our opinion of it. We must write it up in the Vanguard. I think we should take it into the constituencies where we are members---that three I guess. We should get them to take a stand as to our loyal and dedidcated work in the inter- ests of the movement, in opposition to bans and proscriptions , for freedom of thought in the movement etc.

I also received a copy of the North Vancouver constituency Assoca prote est against the refusal to recognize LeBourdais as FederalCo-ordinator etc. We should tie these tow situation up tight together. This action reveals just what the charges against RRM& Leftyare about, what they really involve.---a move against dissident opinion.

A few letters back you mentioned that Clifford suggested getting a lawy er--a Liberal lawyer. I would be opposed to this. But I think that it would be well to put the fear of the Lord in the hearts of the brass. I would seriously consider contacting Rod Young on this matter. When the Ironworker brass moved against Paddy I am convinced that our threats about a lawyer and what the reprcussions would be if he were found guilty by the brass with regards to jobs convinced the brass to not deprive him of membership but to lift his membership rights as specified. I do not know what kind of case we could make as flowing from a guilty verdict--but we might think it over.

What is Leftydoing about the charge? I doubt the advisability of Malcolm appearing on his own. As it is now we should consider the possibility of blowing the whole thing up as the charge lumps toghetehr persons in totally different circum- stances. I think we should demand that the charges be spelled out and that we be charged separately and tried separately. In fact I am really suprised that you are all lumped together--Ruth B and Malcolm are the only persons it would seem to be who are in the same boat when you decipher what the charges are.

Are you in touch with Angus--did he get down to the councio meeting? Anf what about Bob McCormick---I would imagine that he is in a good position to work out something from his club. I take that he is in the Coast- Capilano fed constituency. But my mistake---not Ocean Falls but Powell River. Do we have any connections in Powell River.

I think that despite all these provocations we must be most scrupulous in maintaining our orientation. Th at we are members of the NDP that we are part of it--it is ours---it is the Canadian working classes and no matter what these persons may do we are going to fight for our rights--we are goin

support it, work for it. We are not so much interested in turning the table and counter-charging those who are charging us at this time but demonstrat ing that we are loyal members of the party, active memebers--yes with different views than those who have laid the charges but loyal hard working members of the party--our party-nonetheless. We want our rights, we are going to defend them ,we are going to fight for them--that these actions being taken by the brass are directed not just against us but against the whole interestsof the type of movement which we procliam ourselves to be.

Should they succeed in expelling us then we want our conduct to have been such as to have laid the basis for our re-entry at another time under a different climate--we want our conduct to have been such as to have exposed the leadership as barriers to the movement developing its full potentialities---teaching lessons that at a future stage willbe the ammunotion that will destroy the present misleaders of the movement.

In such a fight as this there is always the danger that comrades who do not fully grasp our orientation who have a sectarian approach who do not understand the problem may influence and color the conduct of the rest of us.

I hope these few comments are of some use.

fraternally

Ross

(Bruce)

Mar 12/62

Dear Malcolm;(Bruce)

The date line is on us again. I see I am even late by the late standards that we have been operating on. No sooner get one issue away and try to pick up the various things that were let ride in the meantime and the next one is here.

I am hoping that we can have all copy in here by March 19th.

Don't have a very clear picture of what is big on the West Coast--- the recent clippings havent arrived yet.

The column this issue will while general also be BC. We note that that woman who came to public attention when she thrust a baseball bat through a plate glass window and around whom the Human Rights body was organized in despair committed suicide. Ruth knew herm and there is ce t ainly the makingd of a good column here.

Reg raises the matter of the CLC convention taking place there in Arpil and how we should handle it--the question of whether we should in ject ourselves in it . At this time I cannot see our devoting a great deal of space in the paper to this convention. The atmosphere in the unions is pretty sterile these days. I dont see any big issue. Probably the issue is the decline in strength of the unions and the debilitating influence of the bureaucracy. I cannot put my finger on the date right now but April gives us time to talk it over. Let me know your opinion

Of course we desparately want material on the NDP. I have felt over the past several months that the paper has not been as positive as it should be in relation to the NDP. I would like to get back into the swing with Across Country with the NDP. Often something takes place in a club or in a public meeting addressed by Douglas or someone else which is worth commenting on as it gives us a chance to put forward our idea.

I take it for granted that we will be getting something on the charges against us, xxx the silent displacement of LeBourdais and the reactions.We will use this to take up the matter of the refusal of member ship here to myself, Hugh, Vernal Olson, a Mrs Osprey, Jerry and Ruth. Probably there will be a few more by the time we go to press.

Will write later about other matters of interest. And what do you think of our poems. Acorn and Purdy are highly respected in the circles of younger poets in Canada. Both have been published by Ryerson and Purdy will have a voulume in Contact Press shortly. Of course we are going to have to cut the muse to lines that will get in one column. Glad we got that German material away. Took up too much space even thpugh interesting--sort of got bbligated there. Tell the comrades and friends that we can always use letters--short ones. Making a big hit with our readers.

fraternally

Ross

March 29, 1962

Ruth Tate

Dear Ruth;

I am enclosing a poem that I think would go very well in the YS Forum. The poet is one of Canada's more important younger potes--will have a collection out shorlty under the CONTACT (Dudeck) imprint. I think that it would be a feather in the YS cap. Do not publish his address if you decided to use it but send him a copy to the address that I have crossed out. If you do not use it send it back to me.

Last week I took time to go through the first two issue of the forum thoroughly. There has been much said about it here among the youth I understand they sent you a note about it--and I thought you would like to know my opinion. At anyrate you will get a partial one in the coming issue of the Vanguard--I have written up a short item comparing the Forum favorably with the Georgian Radical published by the George Williams College NDPY.

Overall the paper is a considerable achievement. I know the great amount of work that has gone in it from experience on similar efforts There are some very good articles in it--and generally I would say that the level is high both from a political and a literary level.

But I believe that it has two major weaknesses which I think a real effort should be made to correct in subsequent issues. The overall char acter of the two issues at hand is academic and somehwat scholarly. One does not get the feel that the writers or the editor have any real connection with a living movement--either student or working class. What is doing on the campus---Douglas has a terrific meeting at UBC--I read about it in the Vangaurd. There was a flurry created by young Birchites--Phil sent an article into the Vanguard. I did not use it and I must write and tell him why---but it was a natural for the YS Forum. What is doing in the NDPY--what activities,what controversies-Did the NDY join a picket line recently so we could give them youth a feel of what the class struggle is--why not write it up. What are the NDY doing with the position that the party has adopted against both the US tests and nuclear arms on Canadian soil. Are they planning any demonstrations--are we trying to get them to do so. Why dont we use the paper to put forward our transitional demands.And what about CUBA????

The other weakness I feel is a real lack of positive identification with the NDP. Too many reservations show through.The YSF does not give one the feeling that it is a real hundred per cent part of the NDP and it should by taking up all the good positions that the party has taken and hammering them and putting foreard class struggle concepts within the framework of the good positions.

Those are the two major criticisms I would make

Here goeson voulme one-----

within the framework of the braod criticism

I thought Bill Siguriersons article was quite good--Id rather bereft than left--a very happy peice for a youth paper. Yourreveiw of the UNAmericans is good although it is on a rather sophisticate plane--- "We all know the political and economic roots of the Americna fascists and -.....but do we? I doubt if many of our readers do. And then there is that conclusion about a planned economy sort of sweepingly clamped on at the end. But it is good nonetheless. International round-up. I dont think that a working class journal can leave the Goulart quote and the position of the bourgeois leaders of Mexico, Argentina without comment as to their class position. Dont go for tagging the Marxist label on Jagan who is nothing but a reformist or the term the moderate left. Id the other left immoderate--that terminolgy is from the political arsenal of the right wing. And should the Soviet Union be presented as an enigma wrapped in a mystery as the round-up does top inside cover. Courneyeur on the NDY convention. The tone is wrong here. "The convention in reaffirming our dedidcation to the socialist cause adequately rebuked the authors of the program of the federal party." Who the hell is the youth to rebuke the fderal party--uneccessarily offensive. And then the arrogant comments about Viewpoint. This would truly startle someone who wasn't in the inside, in the know. What is Phil trying to do provoke an attack from Viewpoint. We need one like a hole in the head. And that line "As a youth section our task is to organize the influence of the younger generation on the senior party." These few comments really place us outside the NDP looking in--not part of it --who want to controbute, who have some ideas that should be considered. It is always better to have the right wing on the offensive. With this type of comment we only play into their hand and their presentation of us a foreign to the movement. The article on Labor and the NDP is a stright reformist one but that's alright --we can reply to it next issue I noted. Some powerful imagery in the Pound poem but I donr care to see Pound reproduced in a socialist paper--did you read Ferlinghetti on the impeachment of the president of the US--on Cuba. and probably we have some budding poets around the paper.The letters you got in advance from the NDY executive--Chicalo, Steeves, Cameron are very good to have in the paper. The statement we will not listen passiv ely is quite a good one I think---and so to the second issue. Of course I know that you are only the editor and that in many cases at most you can only give your opinion to the writers. Aside from the editorials however there is another way of editting which permits of varied views in the paper noetheless and that is by means of selectivity.When you see the balance of the issue as you get ready to got to press you correct it in the direction you see necessary by writing something else.to suite.

There are allwoing for my general criticism of the Forum which I hold to apply to issue no 2 as well as two no serious mistakes in no 1 But the edit in number 2 is in my opinion a serious mistake. I got a wire from Reg on the Argue defection and I was suprised to see that he saw some merit to Argue's criticism--he wanted us to lambast him for quitting the fight against the brass. But I was lost wondering where Argue ever did fight them and what merit what there was in it for us in any of his criticism. In my opinion his criticism was all wrong and in the direction of the Liberals. Argue following the convention never carried any left line, organized anything etc. Yhe edit places us as having been by Argue's side that he was one of us. But all we did was support him as against Douglas for a couple of positions he took which paralleled ours. Dear Hazen--not at all--our pride in you as a socialist spokesman not at all. We assume no responsibility for him and never did. We told

the left to vote for him despite his record as he was at this convention saying the right things on the key issues--that is all. We assume no responsibility--on the contrary the right wing with their reformist program are responsible for him as we pointed out in the Vanguard edit. He has done no harm to the left as the left has never assumed any responsibility nor could it anywhere that I have seen. The edit talks about truths that he talks in his statement. I think that the writer is reading into Argues speech something that is not there. He attacked the NDP as a labor party--as labor dominated--as a class party. No where that I noticed did he expose any machinationd of the trade union bureaucracy--which suprised me very much as he knows of them--possibly he is saving them for later. The weiter talks about him charging the NDP as a tool of a labor clique--that may have been implied but not said ---he aaid labor dominated--meaning a class par y--not broad all inclusive non class like the Liberals are supposed to be . Far from being disgusted when he went into the Liberals that was exactly where his comments were taking him and were so framed from the beginning. And far from being disgusted I was pleased--good he didn't drag the thing out--the logivc of his line is to go the the liberals and he didn't muddy or disorient things at all but went right there. And imagine my horror upon reading "Perhaps you were sincerely disapointed in the NDP, feeling it was not xtxall it was meant to be. Whehter you were right histroy will tell." I am paralyzed. This edit is a serious mistak however there it is and we will have to learn thereby. I do not know who write it but it is obvious that the comrade is inexperienced and hencef forth should welcome an opportunity and even seek an opportunity out to discuss such a matter with more experienced comrades. It is presented as the editors opinion. Not knowing the situation I xxxxxx am unprepared to say whether there should be an editorial correction or it should be left to be taken up by controbutors.

Larry's letter---I have a note--fundamentally correct but we have to learn how to say what when. The forumualtion at the bottom of the second column avout changing the leadership of the NDP is very bad. It is much better to talk about the kind of program that is needed. The changing of the leadership root and branch is a final conclusion We havent even established our rights in the party and herein a youth paper, addressed to young people who have yet to learn a thing or two we slap the braod conclusion flat at them. Of course Larry's and all <u>our</u> controbutions should be subject to the party's discipline--of course not unnecesarily so

The editors comment in reply to Bjarnason is far from adequate."we find promise in the NDP"when xxxxxxxxxxxx when we are confronted with a sectarian attack on the NDP .We could have and should have wrtitten a nice educational reply about the working class movement, the problem of working in it as it now is, understanding the forces working on it seeing the possibilities of changing it etc.

International Comment--- The FIN on the left--the OAS on the right and xxx France in the middle. A poor formualtion although I know you are pushed for space--France--capitalist imperialist France is xxtrying and has worked out a forumula to hold onto here imperialist capitalist exploitative positions--the OAS are irresponsibles from deGaulle's and French imperialists point of view. In the run down about the types of government it xxxxxxx hurst to see Mollet and the SD left out. Who are these Red socialists--and not only will the coalition hold but it is a betryalcommitted here by Nenni. Sprised on the little tiny item on the tests that the USSR turns out to be the culprit.

I dont see how McCarvie--old married with familty McCarvie and even more important refused NDP membership McCarview is writing in the YSF aothough it is generally a good though academic article--good to see Cuba mentioned

The article Canadian Comment by Ruth Tate is very good. The best item in the paper--a pleasure to see how she has been developing.

The Errington article is quite a good article.

Dont go for the ad for the arrangment of Rubenstein speaking at a NDP youth affair. I dont know who pushed it--see the executive presents here but we are opening things up for an attack on us. She is widely known as a persons who moves in CP circles. And while we do not want to raise any kind of scare people should know what they are doing--what we are up against---or do they care--do they care about continning about being able to work in the NDP --we know that they are sniffing around the LSA and so why give them anything

Canada--fascist or socialist---I note not bad.

Mr White's poem is vey interesting along with the comments by PSC but quite academic . Good to see the review of Sartre's book but very schol arly dont you think. Poem--Anti-Tocsin--good. Censorship good, but again scholarly and abstract until suddenyl from out of no where you read about the Vanguard and Press--which to my mind should have been the main subject of the article. Dont dig that clipping from the Los Angeles Herald Express at all-----what did people think

Malcolm's criticism---Correct about Pound but not important I think to take up. The last paragrpah ture-

Everyone involved in and around the YSF is no doubt inexperienced. xxxx

Toronto file copy
please return

E4 1962 VAN
a)

81 Queen Street West
Toronto
April 2, 1962

Comrade

Phil, Vancouver

Dear Comrade Phil

I meant to write you this note a month ago however was diverted by other matters. First I mmant to thank you for your contribution to the paper. And secondly to tell you why I did not print it. I hope that by so doing you will try us out for size again with something else

As a letter to the editor it was too long---in type it would have stretched out to 12⅛ inches and possibly more. I know that in the last issue we published a letter from George Brown which was ten inches--but I felt that was stretching things a bit--and another two and a half i inches stretching things too far. I suppose I could have cut it down to size however I am hesitant to do so with letters to the editor which of course is an open column.

While it is interesting I did not feel that the material was of sufficent weight and sufficient meaning to be published as an article. I would think that our readers are seriously interested in the student world, in campus life but this is in my opinion too much of an incident. Properly speaking it belongs in such a paper as the Young Socialist Forum--a youth journal which presumably has connections on the campus I suppose you noticed our comments on the YSF in the Mid-March issue. to the effect that the Forum "is somewhat shholastic as it has not yet made connections with the real movement of the student and working class youth." An article such as the one you have submitted to the Vanguard would really do much in my opinion to help to correct this problem as we see it. You deal with a most important question--the nature of red-baiting---with a colorful incident as a lead. If I were editor of the YSF your article is just what I would like. Though I would have taken a blue pencil to your use of the term Stalinist. I do not think we can treat of then the Canadian CP as being Stalinist--there are no doubt cross currents in it stimulated by the Peking-Moscow dispute. I would call the Communist Party the Communist Party and those who really prove themselves to be hanging onto the old Stalinist past as Stalinists. It is hard for me to believevthat campus CP youth are stalinized.

Thanks again for the article. I am sending you the typed up copy in the chance you might be able to update it for the forum.

with socialist greetings

Ross Dowson

Toronto File Copy
please return

E4 1962 VBN
E)

April 2, 1962
81 Queen Street West

George Brown, Vancouver

Dear George;

As you will note I used your letter in the Mid March issue.

Cut it down but I wont seek the devise of many editors to explain it away to space problems. The cut was editorial besides space. as will be obvious to you. As the letters is it is rather long for our little paper. The po nt that you raise about the method of figthing fascism is very important and I would have liked to put it in and would have put it in because of the need to discuss it but for the space problem....you are a fine reporter but this material along with the report upon which it hinged would have taken well over a full column. I say that your comments hinged on the report therefore in my opinion it was the commentary that had to be cut. There is another angle too--- the comment is so worded that I felt that I could not very well use your name on the letter which I wanted to do. It is phrased in such a way as to jeopardize our integration in the NDP--for instance you refer to Lenin. Marx is not exactly acceptable in NDP circles and Lenin certainly not. When he is introduced I think he will have to be introduced in a more careful and more rounded a way. In fact I was thinking about this very matter several weeks ago---how to introduce Lenin to our readers... as you know Lenin has been pretty well shaped in Stalin's image in the Canadian mind.

Do you read the Militant? Probably you do so you will recall this whole matter of how to fight fascists was raised and discussed by the Militant probably about a year ago with regards to Rockwell and his speaking in Union Square. The Militant came out in favor of his being granted a permit. Their strategy was throughk some civil rights committee to apply for a permit too to hold a meeting a short period before Rockwell's . Only a few issues ago the Militant reports how action that lead to the breaking up of another fascist meeting in Californai were use by the regents of a univierstiy there to forbid permission for the hold-ing of a meeting by the SWP for Hansen. The Militant has taken a position favoring freedom of speech for the fascists--for all in the conviction that should we seek the suppression and attempt to suppress by our own means fascists meetings our own meetings will be suppressed.That of course doesn't mean that we do not demonstrate---as we did at the recent meeting the right wing held in New York.

You call for the take over of fascist meetings which of course means to break them up . This is just what some reactionary nationalist groups did in Oshawa a dew months ago to the ~~XXXxx~~ CP. The CP called a meeting and a whole bunch of these reactionairies moved in ~~xxxxx~~ filled the hall and then one of their leaders rose and addressed the meeting--they took over the meeting. I take it you are for an open war, no holds barred

knock down drag out fight with the fascists now.

I do not agree with this policy. However I think that this matter while not an issue at this time could if you would like be profitably discussed in the party and in the paper. After all the letter to the editors column is wide open. We can publish under pseudonyms if it is thouhgt that it would hamr our integration at this time.

Looking forward to hearing from you

fraternally

Ross Dowson

Please Return
File copy

April 9, 1962

Dear Ruth; (Bullock)

Re your letter of April 4, a copy of which you have sent to Seattle.

I find it very difficult to understand almost every aspect of this letter. Can it be that you have not been receiving the correspondence that we have been sending out. From the minutes of the 16th I see you received the Feb 11 PC minutes although it is not clear from the branch minutes which read "their(the PC) endorsation of the resolutions of our branch conference" that the comrades or you yourselves are aware that they ~~a~~ctually read that we concurred with ~~w~~ handling of the first"three applications so far rejected by Vancouver." At any rate I have typed out several bits of correspondence over the past short period that in my opinion show that there has been no real silence from this end that you have had to bear or that there are any trying ~~xxxxxxxx~~ questions of the relationship of the Whitney clique with the party that are not generally stright right now.

I do not know what you mean by "this quasi legitimate position " of the Whitney clique

What are you protesting about when you protest "most strongly that this group should receive official documents i.e. the PC minutes and thus be recognized as legal members of the party. I gave you my word that they were receiving nothing --I went so far as to question Jerry whose loyallty you question and he assured me that he was carrying on no correspondence of any kind. I even made contact with one of our comrades with whom KG in the past was in correspondence and this comrade assured me that she was not in contact with him and understood and agreed that it would be wrong to be in contact with him. I see that the executive despite my assurances even went so far as to present the branch with a motion on February 23rd "that protests strongly the ~~apparent~~ sending of PC minutes to persons who are not members of the party." Apparent?????????

Do you have some evidence that you have not forwarded to us? If so why dont you send it along so that in the interests of maintaining proper Bolshevik relations in the movement we can take appropriate actions. Do you wish my resignation? What is it. I do not understand such statements as are in your April 4 letter or such actions as the executive took before the branch on Feb 23

I do not know how or why you should be outraged on April 4 "that Lill should continue as a member of the NC?

"We hear" (Whitney) you start off, that "with apparent recognition of the National Office, ~~Whitney~~ has recently been in the San Fransisco area and in confident tial meetings. " Just what do you mean by the words"with apparent recogn ition of the NO" As I told you before and I will say again the N.O. is in contact in no way with the members of what was Branch 1 either those whose expulsion by you we have concurred in or those who are in the Branch or those whose status is as yet undefined. I must assume you have some evidence that brings into question my integrity or some evidence that I am unaquainted with involving someone else in the national office which it is yourduty to bring to my attnetion at once. ~~I am sure that~~

No I am not at all aware that the Frisco area is the base of what appears to be a developing faction fight in the SWP? I dont know anything about Whitney's wanderings or doings. I do not know why Seattle should phone you with some heat about Whitney's parading around under false colours. What are we supposed to do? The N.O. of the SWP gets copies of our minutes. Are we here expected to anticipate that Whitney will be going south or this or that person will be going here or there and precede them with warnings addressed to all points en route that this man is not at all what he presents himself to be--that he has been expelled from our party. I do not know why we should get upset about this incident. I think that the southern comrades can handle such matters as these--as you say he was brushed off.

It seems to me that we are unduly worried about Whitney and company Yes, it may well be that they are looking to turn our convention into shambles. But I am quite confident that they will not be able to do so. Because we Bolsheviks wont tolerate them doing so. We will handle them with dispatch.

On page three you talk about PC actions that have shown a deplorable lack of confidence in the Vancouver leadership--and point to what you say is an if and or but attitude on your actions of expelling Bill, Lillian and KG. You say you have so far had no direct answer. Please would you read the PC minutes which record a motion of concurrence--it was unanimous--and look again in some of the correspondence. Far from reservations and doubts we immediately agreed and called for a more rapid handling of the rest.

Then you follow with a series of questions. All of them have been answered by our actions except one---are they going to be invited to put forward documents to yet another convention. To be frank I never even thought of such a thing---inviting them to submit documents. But I dont doubt for a moment that they will submit something---an appeal to the convention to reinstate them or a condemnation of the LSA and the announcement of the formation of a new Canadian section or something or other.

I read with disappointment but not suprise of Harold's deplorable conduct in the branch. I cannot think of any reason why if you think it is necessary you should not take action against him. I find his conduct if Bill has anything to do with it astounding for it certainly cements the case that there is nothing or almost nothing in the clique for the revolutionary movement. His conduct proves the case against the others--which would have been a bit more difficult if he had conducted himself in an exemplary manner. I see no reason why you should ask as you do near the close of your letter whether Harold will be looked upon as an expelled member as was Heinz? The branch has the authoirty to expell him. The case is going to be presented. Who is to challenge it--on what basis and what for. We have clearly and unmistakeably recognized the expulsion of the three that you have taken action on.

I appreciate the sympathy you express with regards to Jerry "as a constant interference." But I do not know how you have got the impression that he is a constant interference, that we need such sympathy. I think that Jerry's conduct in Vancouver was very poor. I myself find it difficult to overcome his streak of stubborness and his insensitivity. I deplore the correspondence that you showed me he was trying to conduct with Nick. But Jerry is not a constant interference in any real meaning of these words. The PC is composed of three other comrades besides myself who have proven themsevles capable of meeting any difficulties that Jerry may mistakenly cause and of working out a basis of collaboration.

This morning I received a letter from McGarvie and a couple of days ago another from Ruth T. I would imagine that they arise from ~~xhxx~~ the motion that was passed at the Feb 23rd meeting--the protest that the executive brought down. I did not pick up this protest. I think that it was most unfortunate that the executive went to the branch ~~xmxhxhxgxhixmxxxxxxmxmxkxd~~ This is a slap at the N.O. competely unjustified, false and only results in the undermining of whatever authroity the N.O. has. I felt that there is nothing to gain by answering it because to do so would only undermine the authroity of the executive of the branch. I think that it is unfortunate that these comrade RT and McG are writing me letters on these picayune matters. I do not wish to carry on a correspondence with members of the Vancouver branch . "s it is I do not have the time to carry on the type of correspondence that I would like with the leading cadre of the branch. I hope that you can find some way to ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ the grave concern that has been wrongly developed by the Feb 23 motion. ~~xxxxxxxxx

81 Queen Street West
Toronto
April 9 1962

Dave McGarvie

Dear Dave;

I was certainly glad to see that you had moved into the big city. Now you can become part of a going concern. I am sure that this will speed up your development considerably--haring of and seeing what other comrades are doing, giving them your opinion, listening and giving educationals. Hope you can win acceptance into the NDP and str strengthen our work in that most important area. Will you be able to get a job in the Vancouver area. Hope you are suitable material for a boss whose shop is organized by the IWA.

My impression has long been that the possibilities of building our movement in the Vancouver area are better than any other place on the North American continent. And we have a top flite hall--and not too bad a paper. I also hope that you wife can be brought closer and into the movement

Thanks for the detailed information of what is going on in the branch. I am already familiar with the main picture from correspondence to the NC written up by the organizer. Yes it is somewhat alarming to see what happens to people that you used to know when they got caught up in a factional fight. It would appear to me that Charlie and Harold are not themmelves these days but bearers of greivances against the branch for its decisions with regards to Lil, Bill and K.G. They are doing just what intelligent pemrades would not do in such a situation. I gather they voted for acceptance of the three who have been expelled or would have voted acceptance if given the chance. If they really and seriously wanted to demonstrate to the branch that it has been unjust in its actions re the three they would be most careful to conduct themselve ves in an exemplary manner....by so doing they could hope to overdome what they probably xxxxxxxxx believe is an injustice to the three holding out the perspective that if admitted we could expect as good from the three.as we are getting from them. But instead of opening the poss ibility of influencing the comrades their way they demonstrating a positive anti-party attitude.

I think that the branch out there can handle such a situation quite h handily. Probably they should both be hawled up on the mat and told what is expected of them and warned that we are not folling around. It is possible that they are so blinded that even this will do not good and we will have to toss them out---that they will be lost to the movement for a period. Some of these comrades have become miseducated, some possibly burnt out over the years. The Political Committee a way back at its February 11 meeting endorsed the expulsions of Bill, Lill and KG.Ithas cut off all relations with these three(I dont know how the branch in its February 23 meeting could pass a motion xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxstrongly protesting the apparent sending of PC minutes to persons who are not mem-

bers of the party?). We have concurred with the actions of the branch and have studiously and loyally refrained from sending any material of any internal(and it so happens external character) not only to Lillian, but Bill and KG and anyone else who was in Branch one. As I said--the branch is well able to handle the situation as you describe it . It has the power and indeed it has the responsibility to maintain a proper atmosphere ,a proper discipline in the branch. I am glad you are only in on the final stages of the difficulties that we have had in Vancouver. The whole thing will be settled up at the coming convention

Looking forward to meeting you in the flesh this coming fall. In the meantime hope you can really pitch in and really help our comrades there in the good work they are involved in.

with socialist greetings

Ross Dowson

April 10, 1962

Dear Malcolm;

Managing to get caught up with longstanding correspondence. Got a letter off to Ruth yesterday, one to Reg today and a couple of short notes to George Brown and Phil Couryneur.

Some important questions are taken up with ~~Rhg~~ letter to Reg which he will no doubt discuss with you. Phil sent in an article to the paper direct a month and a half ago . I felt that I should tell hi n why it was not printed and take the time out to tell him that such material is just what the YSF needs. Much too light for our paper and too long for a letter. George sent in an item direct too--published the bulk of it as a ltter and lopped off one whole separate idea--the idea that we should move in on fascists meetings and just taken them over from the floor. I suggested to him that while letters to the editor was an open column if we wanted to discuss this matter of fighting Birchites it should be done on a more developed basis as a separate item. At anyr ate I am enclosing my copies of the letters that I sent them for your perusal. Forgot to take an extra copy so would you return them to me in the self addressed envelope.

Had a very interesting discussion with Maurice Spector of all people when he was in Toronto a couple of weeks ago. He was up here to address a meeting being held by Histradut--he works for this outfit. Extremely friendly, interested to hear that you were active in the movemnant. While we did not talk at any length about his own views he told me that he considers that he is now essentially of the same opinion as he was years ago. Although he suggested that there was something in Bolshevism that once freed from the master grip of Lenin cut across the essentially democratic concepts of Marxism. What I was interested was in getting filled in on certain aspects of the history of our movement. For instance he told me that there is not a shred of truth in the CP histories that MacDonald held to any concepts of Lovestonism, of American exception alism. He said he never ever saw any documentation to this effect ~~mr~~ nor did Mac who was extremely close to him ever say anything that could be conceived of as even suggesting he held such a view. He gave me a real picture of Jack MacDonald. He told me that Mac considered that the CI was woefully ignorant on many matters that it gave directions on , that he didn't have much respect for the American party with its factiona alignments. ~~Frmm~~that he thought that he could build the Canadian party ~~mmxmxmmim~~ purely from taking a correct position on the national questions and indepdendent of the world movement and it would appear up until 1929 indepdendent of a correct international world viewpoint. Spector says that upon his return from the 1928 Congress he never was able to present his view in the party. He was handled by a motion that the Cdn PC endorse the actions taken by the American CP against Cannon--he sought to realize a controlled showdown but they forced an immediate one. Spector then made a statement of his position and was tossed out. It appears that Mac had some sympathy but aside from his rather narrow outlook felt that LT's fight was hopeless--wanted to go on building the Cdn party on Cdn issues. Spector immediately

launched an agressive public campaign. Within 6 months Mac phoned Spector seeking a collaboration. Other interesting comments and asides but I will have to try to tell you about them some other time.

Well by now you should have received and had an opportunity to read through the latest effort of the Vanguard Publishing Association---the pamphelt Marx and Engels on the Labor Party. Aside from its physical appearance which I think is exceelent--largely the work of Carson--I think it is an excellent controbution to the arming of the left wing in and around the NDP. It seems to me to cut two ways. Workers who have prejudice against Marx and Engels will see them as having something really important, vital, to say on an immediate problem that they under stand to some extent and are seriously involved in--the NDP. The first essay by Engels on the need for independent labor political action I thought was first class as an introduction to Marx and Engels. Then the pamphlet should prove valuable in helping us to orient leftists who have a solid respect for Marx and Engels but who do not really understand their views and have serious reservations about our orientation to the NDP to come to a coreect position on the NDP. George Brown has informed me that he will no longer be at his old address--I take it he is off to Scotland so I have taken the liberty to sending 25 copies onto Ruth billing the LSA. I think we should be able to sell a couple of hundred in the next few months.

in pamphlet form

By Friday we will have 2,000 copies of the statement that we pu t out last summer in the name of the LSA. Read the proofs over last night. We had to make a few corrections---we talked of the new party--changed it to the proper name NDP, etc. Suprised how good it was and is. If we had to write it all over again I dont think I would change a word. Should be a big help in building the League---it will be a very nice little job--and cost us ~~xmxy~~ slightly leess than $100 since we will do the binding ourselves.

Read your statement to the NDP and your previous one to Thayer with interest- very good. Better though to see that they dropped the charges. How long for--do you think. I am afraid that the NDP brass as the Liberals and Tories red bait one another will in the coming election try to clear themselves of any charge of being red by joining in the chorus even more shrilly than the others. The election campagn has hardly got underway but already steel leader Sefton has put out a leaflet which points to his main merit as having all his life fought the reads. Had an edit lined up for the last issue but no room. We are making this the subject of the coming Friday forum--the danger of the right, the perid of anti-communism , how to fight the right.

In the past while I think we have been very successful here in Toronto in arranging eduationals that truly do present us as the left of the NDP and equip our audience for effective and principled work in the NDP and the class struggle at its present form of development

It certainly was a pleasure to read your letter of advice to McGarvie Glad to see that he is now in Vancouver and will have an opportunity to work with and for a functioning branch. A political experience for which there is no substitute. The CP position of support of the NDP is absurd ---they have announced ten candidates and promise more. They are in rough shape in the Toronto area. A chap that I know very well despite my assurances that the CP here has really not changed rejoined the CP. The other day he came down to talk things over. He told me that really

they are unchanged--no intellectual life, no differences of opinion follow the leadership--completely separate the Khrushchov reveleations from the Cdn CP policy--go right along with the present political policy of Moscow--worry but no discussion about the Peking-Moscow schism. He tells me that here in Toronto we are about as big as their anglo-Cdn membership--that their base more so than ever is the foreign language groupings numbering about 500 members. I protested that their May Day meeting will probably see about 700 to 800 turn out...he said yes but three-quarters of them will be non-members.

Somewhat suprised to read your letter of February 14, as late as that --that you think the PC has any connection of any kind whatsoever with Whitney ǫ with any of those now expelled or any of those from the old Branch one whose names are still in the hopper. Naturally enough as soon as you made your decision on Lillian and I knoew about she got only one more peice of correspondence from here--the minutes of the PC meeting which recorded that the PC edorsed the expulsion of the three--herself--Bill and KG. We have received a leeter from Grieve, a letter from Bill about the strike but we have notanswered them. Angus sent me a long letter about his uneasy feeling on the situation --I took time to reply outlining our lengthy experience with them, I have the impression that he is satisfied--got a short note from him which makes no further mention.

No doubt they are talking big--I understand from a note from Ruth that Whitney has been parading around the south as a NC member attempting to enlist some support. I do not see that we should worry about this we have no control over him--I am sure that the leading SWPers know how to handle a situati n like this. Glad to see from the Feb 23 minutes that we are at last handling the others. Wrote a few lines to Reg to the effect that I think that it is necessary for someone to see Ellaline if not call her before the executive, since she applied, before a formal decision is taken to the effect that apparently she is politically disinterested--after all she was in the movement some 20 years. I think that the conclusions are right but the form here is of importance.The more proper we conduct ourselves here the less we give them and the easier we straigthen up the record and go forward with the work of building the party.

There will be a report on the Vancouver situation here next Wednesday It will in part take up this question of the Whitneys. I see no difficulties--only Jerry L will express opposition to the Branch and PC position. He asked for a long talk with me last Sunday --in the course of it I used Harold's conduct very effectively to prove the validity of the actions against the others. Harold and Charlie are fools and Whitney too if as it would appear they are working in any way under his guidance. If they were chipping in heavy, taking on all kinds of responsibility they would strengthen the Whitney claim that an injustice has been committed but the branch and the PC

Well here we are with the next issue coming up...started this letter two days ago. Have we any delegates from the Vancouver area at the CLC convention--have we struck off anyone to cover it for the coming issue? The press coverage here is quite detailed but it is no doubt more full from there. Let me know if no one there is handling this convention. Last issues notes were a welcome contribution to the Around the NDP column. The weakest I thought was the one on the

nomination conflict--McKenzie-Webster. I suppose there is some pleasure in seeing McKenzie defeated but I thought it really of serious political interest and cut it down. Hope we have a couple of good notes for this issue---and something positive-showing some expression of socialist views in the NDP.

Could we have whatever you think suitable for the paper here by April 18. And could you drop me a short note as to what to expect.

Will try to take out time to discuss some of the problems that should be taken up at the convention

warmest regards

Ross

Plan to carry Castro's attack on Escalante if it is braod enough

Big days---have you had achance to read the 2nd Havana Declaration?

Reel 05 frame

cc

(Bullock)

April 10, 1962

Dear Reg;

There are a couple of matters that I have intended to write to you about for sometime now.

One is Fair Play. With the defection of McNaught and Dewart and the ganeral lackadaisical atititude of NDP types generally we have a situation where there is in reality no national movement. I gather from V.O. that there is now no real connection being maintained by anyone or any group with the center here. Letters are going unaswered. The Montreal group appears to have frankly told him that they are not satsified with what they see as the increased Stalinization of the revolution and whylnot dissobving the committee have in some way come to an agreement to do nothing in the next period. I do not know what effect Castro's recent speeches have had on them. VO was down here a few nights ago and suggested that the N.O. was getting to be too big a burden--some $50 a month. I told him it would be a big mistake to let the office go and suggested that we should try to sublet it in order to cut down expenses.

An aside; the last Cdn Tribune announced the formation of a Canada-Cuba Freidnship Society. A stupid, secrtarian factionislist action by the CP. We know all about the meeting called to launch it. It was brutied about last fall but I thought we had stopped it--particulalry with the big success of the banquet, Ambassador and all which was cased by CP organizer Weir. McKinney told me that he had been assigned to work on thsi aborning committee last fall and with the banquet was convinced that the CP had dropped the idea. At the meeting which launcehd their committee , caste as the major figures were all the CPers who were brought into the FPCC executive. They have never expressed any diffierences on the FP executive--they have contributed little, really used their posts as contacts. Now they have a little committee of their own. We do not yet know what they intend to do with their executive posts on Fair Play. This will have little or no effect on Fair Play as they have done little or nothing for Fair Play. Whereas Fair Play might have been known as pri arily Trotskyists with Stalinists on it too,at most it will now be labelled by the new committee as Trotskyist. It would appear that they are counting heavily on their connectbons to arrange a Cuba tour this summer. The next day after their founding meeting saw the press carry reports on Castro's attack on Escalante--xxdont know what this does to their enthusiasm or their connections too.

So much for the background. Now what I would like to discuss is just what are our intentions with regards to Fair Play., and for that matter with regards to doing what we can to popularize and aid the cause of the Cuban revolution which of course is our cause.

I know that the committee out there has had difficulties--that the CP had had its commmittee there for sometime--and that Fair Play is on

ice.--if not at this time considered by the comrades to be defunct. But what is our policy?

Our opinion here is that we should sustain the FPCC everywhere across the country where at all possible, It seems to me that in Vancouver we are in good enough a position, with sufficient resources at our disposal and wide enough connections to sustain a FPCC chapter even if only on a modest basis.

I do not know how the old executive stands whether anyone other than ourselves would attend if an executive meeting was called. In mu opinion we should call one anyway to discuss reviving the committee on a modest basis--leaving the old patrons on it if thought adviseable and adding a couple of others on to it if thought adviseable. I suppose a person like Hugh Clifford would go on it if he is not already on it, I think that some comrade--a fairly able comrade should be asigned this work. We should discuss just what kihd of effort we desire to put in it at this time.

I understand that copies of the Commonwealth article by Biesick were sent out. This person would see that they get circulated-- we need a Vancouver address--a home address would be alright--of a NDP person preferred. This person should see that the Second Habana Declaration gets circulated. That copies of Root and Branch are imported. Should see that Cuba literature from the Toronto office is xxxxx available at various places.

I am of course not acquainted with the exact situation but it would have seemed a natrual to have held the Ken Orchard meeting under the auspices of Fair Play. I see he spoke at 875--the leaflet did not mention any auspices but I spuppose this was just an oversight and that the meeting actaully was an LSA meeting...for a Fair Play meeting just could not be held in 875

Possibly a braod July 26 meeting could be held. Would you let me know what you think is possible in this area. I do not think that we have really done what wh should on the Cuba question, here or anywhere else. In the next period the Vanguard is going to devote increasing s space to the revolution. There are greater possibilities or winning support here in Canada than there are in the US. Probably a mistake that the Vanguard did not reprint the Havana Declaration. Any doubts that many have had over the past period must have been given a real jolt with Castro's attacks on the CP

The other matter I have intended to take up is the question of the LSA. I see from the Feb 23 minutes that the first meeting in March was going to devote considerable time to a discussion on "The Role of the LSA." I do not know what this discussion entials. However Ruth T has written me a couple of letters in the past several months largely concerned with the question of whether Ernie was to be the person going to Vancouver and then when that was decided when would he be coming. In passing she commented about some views that were being exp ressed around the branch I take it about just what the LSA was. In one of my replies I in passing stated that the LSA was the party which appeared to startle her in the next letter. Of course I am not carry ing on any correspondence with Ruth T for besides not having the time I feel that it is unhealthy for a proper relationship with the leading cadre of the branch.

I wonder if you would let me know if there is anything here that should be taken up on a national scale. If there are any differing

viewpoints of importance, if there are any misunderstandings that should be taken up. If there is anything here I think that it is most important that there should be a prelininary discussion on the PC-NC plane before it really develops on any branch plane.

One other matter---the national tour. When Ken left Nick the latter had the impression that Ken was not returning to Toronto for the nation al tour which would be leaving sometime around May 20. Yet after Ken arrived in Vancouver he wrote Bob that he would be coming to Toronto in lots of time. "e must know shortly just where Ken stands on the tour for sure---we cant have this off again on again as we must find the f forces for the tour. You see we have no comrades unemployed.Our stu dents have to work in the summer to finance their schooling expenses. So we are tight . Is Ernie to go? Right now it looks like it althoug h there is sustantial xngmxxxxxx argument for his not going but going out directly to Vandouver. I think that it is valuable that Ken should be on the tour and would urge that you hale a talk with him on it and if he is not solid attempt to make him solidly committed. We do not have much time xxx

And one last item which I wonder if your Ruth or someone would clarify.---the minutes of Feb 23 and the handling of the others from the old branch one.

Who is JF? Did he apply? for membership
E.M. I note that the minutes read"apparently p@litically"disinterest ed. I believe she applied. Has no one seen herx and faced xkkx herwith what we consider to be political disinterest ? Phyl R. Did she apply?

Last Sunday Jerry Liang phoned and we had a long talk on the Van couver situation. It appears that L.M., B?H., and he himself along with Bill W have been carrying on correspondence with Peng in Paris about the situation. Of course LM?BH?JL,s correspondence is natural as they are very close to him. Whitney is trying to make an international incident. Of course I told him where things stand --that we had upheld the expulsions of three and told him that it was probable from reports we have received that action will have to be taken against two who have been admitted Peng doesn't know the situation in reality. But why I say this is xhxmx show that it is necessary that this matter be handled properly not only from our point of view but from the point of v ew of the record too. If JF applied I think that it is necessary that action be taken---thatthe fact that he hasn't been around be inv vestigated and that he explain--that there should be a report and formal ation taken--not no action. With E.M. I think that it is necessary that she be seen and that she explain xxxxxxxxxxxxxxsm waht we can only in terpret as disinterest. In my opinion E.M. is worn out but the way it appears in the official records -the Feb 23 meeting --is not good. If Phyl R was a member and applied I would think that this too should be dealt with formally--if she is not accepted she should be put on pro- bation and instructed to attend future affiars --or some such formal decision taken.

What do you think

fraternally

Ross

81 Queen Street West
April 16, 1962

(Jackard)
Vancouver

Dear Ken;

Received your letter of the 10th. I have dealyed replying until we could get the PC together which we did last night.

We consider that the work that could be carried on through Fair Play of prime importance--and that you possibly are in a position to get the whole thing rolling again.in Vancouver

At this time it looks like the tour places will be filled alright. There is no question that your participation would make the tour more effective however we feel that Nick with the Help of Ernie can do a very good job. Sooooo we are in a position we think to clear you of your commitment to join the tour. The question of the personel of the tour should be settled solidly by the end of this week but as it stand I feel confident that we are in a position to give you the go ahead for an intensive FPCC campaign in Vancouver.

Bob will be writing you tonight with regards to literature --my impression is that you have very little. It will be a big help in consolidating the committee there if we become the main outlet for Cuban material .

Would you tell Ruth of our decision as John wont have a chance to get the minutes out for a few days and I must get to work on the paper.

fraternally

Ross D

April 20,1962

Dear Reg;

I received your note this morning on the naming of the LSA hall "Bruce Hall." Had no inkling of this until we received the March 22 minutes a few days ago. ...aside from noting that one of Ken's letters giving 875 as a return address was marked Bruce Hall. And I must admit at the time that I thought it was one of Ken's little jokes.

I havent heard any of the arguments of course aside from a few lines in the minutes but speaking for myself I find the whole thing somewhat repusive and hard to understand from a political point of view.

Not that we should be a slave to precedent but I do not know of any precedents in the radical movement and few in bourgeois life for naming something after some one who is living. Fortunately Malcolm is still with us. I suppose you read the report of Castro's speech attacking the Cuban CP and quoting that section of the law Castro says they passed against such a practice. So alien to our tradtion do I feel this is that it seems almost as if we ourselves have put Malcolm in a tomb and embalmed him. I am suprised that Malcolm gave his permission as I gather he did from the March 22 minutes

Then I am wondering what it does for us politically. Not only is Debs dead but he was a national a d international figure, a mighty symbol of socialist integ rity and struggle. When Detroit calls their hall Debs hall we gain thereby politically we tell people that the Trotskyists consider that they are carrying forward the Debs tradition. Anyone who doesn't know of Debs--the youth--will investigate and without any trouble at all identify themselves with Debs .

I have nothing but admiration for Malcolm but unfortunately he is not either internationally or nationally known. Nobody here knows of Malcolm Bruce unless the Vanguard goes out of its way to tell them about him. His name has only appeared a couple of times in our press in such a way tas to mark him out from many others. Once when he sent in an article I recall our writing up who he was--and then there was his picture and signature on the LSA statement. But unfortunately the name Bruce has no significance whatsoever to our readers. Of course Malcolm is much better known in BC but while I would like to think that it is in someway broadly connected to militant labor concepts I doubt it--I am inclined to believe that only a comparatively small handful of left wingers known of him and what he represents to us his comrades.

The result it seems to me is not too good politically. Right behind our speaker here we have a very big blue and red sign letteres The League
for Socialist
Action
then on the other wall we have a sign at least 12 feet long spelling out Win the
New Democratic Party
to Soialism
We have consciously sought to identify the hall as the hall of the League for Socialist Action. We call the forum the Vanguard Forum because the paper is probably the best known thing about us and we felt that at the same ti e as the word is a generally acceptable Englishword if the opportunity presented itself we might get people to speak on our platform who would hesitate to speak on the platform of a forum

the League for Socialist Action Forum. I take it that if you had a large League for Socialist Action identify the hall on the wall that now with the name formally adopted it would be repleced with a banner saying The Bruce Hall. I assume since you have adopted the name that it is going to result in some such action--it would seem to me to be a logical assumption. And so we have aname on the hall that menas something only to a select few and in so doing if not actually physically removing the sign Leage For Socialist Action in fact we are removing it. Maybe you do not intend this at all--but doesn't this action tend to result in this--result in removing or at least playing down the LSA label.

As I note above I do not know the arguments that have been advanced for calling the LSA Hall the Bruce Hall and what significance you comrades think it has but I feel qyite sure that my first reaction which is one of revulsion, and perhaps that word is too strong, is going to be common here should we go ahead to publicly announce the change as your news report does. I would prefer not to announce this change of name in the paper--at least the way it is announced in your report and intend to consult the PC efore doing so

I was very glad to receive your letter of April 12 dealing with the discussion you have had out there on just what the LSA is. Glad you took time out to expand on it because it is a big and an important question. There has been no discussion in the branch on this matter at anytime--even at the time we received the letter posing the matter from Gabe Glazer of Montreal. It opened and closed on the PC plane here. I myself have always had the idea that while we sought to appear to be something wider than the Trotskyist movement here in Canada that when we launched the LSA we had a clear concept that this was the public form of the Canadia Trotskyist movement. I thought everyone else had that idea and when Glazers letter arrived it had no effect on our thinking in this respect--it appeared that all of us here had that idea. He didn't appear to represent anything adnd there was no question of fuzing with other forces into a new organization or widening the old in som

The LSA has recruited on the full program of Trotskyism and on acceptance of the organizational principples of Bolshevism. The Vangurad is administered by a political committee of Trotskyists. We all know this--

The Trotskyists have to have their own movement. The LSA functions at this time as such. What is happening now? Are there persns who are not capable of becoming Trotskyists or who dont want to be Trotskyists hammering on the LSA door. If theyeare merely individuals I am not too interested in them and in accomodating them. They can work with us on grounds of common agreement in the NDP clubs in the unions. Are they organized? If so we can get into a discussion with them on the key issues before the Canadian workers and possibly after some experience in collaboration even carry out a fusion. The forces of Amrican Trotskyism had wide experience with such activities and we could make a real study of the problems posed. If there are currents, not organized forms but tendencies of a leftist character arising in and around the NDP I do not see why the need to work our forms of collaboration cannot be worked out with the LSA in fact remaining as it is Trotskyist and democratic centralist but working out new broader organization forms within which it can work. The British SLL works with the Victroy for Socialism with the Clause 4 and other episodic left currents. It can do so quite easily because it doesn't in anyway appear as a party, even ideologically If in the future bwoader centrist formations develop and we find that the LSA existing as an independent force curtails our operations I would think we would have no difficulty in meeting the situation. The American comrades in the SP formed the Appeal group, around a paper which was essentially Trotskyist and won leftists to the Trotskyist viewpoint and organization folllwwing an expulsion.

These are just a few thoughts coming to my mind in the light of your comments When your letter was read to the PC everyone here agreed that what we need is a documentt

in order to open up a diecussion. It is obvious that you have been doing some considerable thinking on the matter and it would seem to me that it would be a big help if you would kick off the discussion in the party by submitting a document just as soon as possible.

fraternally

Ross

April 21, 1962

Dear Ruth B

In reply to some of the matters that come up in your letter of the 15th.

I dont suppose there is much purpose in chewing over some of the old experiences with Whitney and company. I have tried my best to explain the position that the PC took here . I have read every word you have written on the question--all the comrades have on the PC—but we do not agree. We had a report on the Vancouver situation here on Wednesday given by John W to the branch. John presented the situation with regards to the Whitney group in considerable detail and entirely within the framework of sustaining the refusal of the three--it was well presented , in such a way as to answer any doubts anyone would have. Well Jerry L got up and protested--starting back from the original sin --the division of the branch. Then a comrade of some 15 years in the movement while not attacking the PC, nonetheless expressed suprise that there had not been a trial--even just a routine, a formal trial. He completely agreed that these persons do not belong in our movement, Another a new comrade familiar with our fight in his union against the trade union bureaucracy expressed considerable suprise about the whole thing. Jim M took me aside with some suggestions as to how it should have been handled.

I am afraid Ruth that you comrades out there are all too close to the struggle, have suffered so much, have gone through such agonizing experiences over the past years that you are unable to really or sensitively appreciate how the whole thing looks to others. In fact if there were any doubts in the ranks of the PC on this matter we would have been in real trouble. The situation is that the PC is solidly behind Branch two and its prestige is such here that many doubts dont get a chance to develop because comrades are prepared to accept the idea that there is more behind the action than they know and give us the benefit of the doubt.

The PC remains convinced that its action of dissolving the branch I and referring the individuals to Branch two for membership was correct I think it should be clear to all of you that we are prepared to accept your decisions, that we would agree to them but pleaee dont ask us to whitewash just any action. When we instructed them to apply for membership in the branch we meant that their application should be treated in a formally correct way. I believe that nobody, absolutely nobody except yourselves so caught in the struggle could accept the handling of Ellaline. I just dont understand what all the problem is. All you have to do is arrange for someone to go to see her, or have her come to the executive meeting and present her with what you think is apparent. Its a matter of half an hour. We dont need long documents, arguments. That JF has never been to any function makes it all the easier --he probably wont even turn up at an executive meeting if he were called. But whether you think it was right or wrong we did instruct them to apply--then it is necessary if they replied to treat with their reply regardless of what we think their motives are.

It is apparent that the branch is solid and that no lengthy time need be takeh up. I cant imagine Harold and Charlie blowing up the meeting ---as McGarvie suggested. There is one thing that I am certain of and that is that any time spent now will be well spent--for it is apparent that Whitney is going to fight the matter. The best way to assure that the coming convention will be able to pass over the whole thing in very quick order, no fuss no muss in my opinion would be go through this one two routine.

Hope that you have settled the Harold affair. We took him in to work for the movement, not to be a lawyer for persons not in the movement. Sorry to hear that the branch is going to be without George and Helen's aid for a period and comrade M too. When is the latter going to Montreal? One of the youth here was telling me that his parents are prepared to finance his going to some out of Toronto university--I gather they want to get rid of him and the embarrassment he is causing them with their friends. I have suggested that he go the Mohtreal. He is a well developed comrade, [redacted] dynamic. We have over the years made some contact in Montreal but we have no one who will do anything for us--even keep us up to date on political developments let alone build our movement. This comrade in my opinion would be able to make a real contribution. Since it appears that we are unable to discourage Comrade M from going to Montreal we might as well take advantage of the situation. It is a hard city to work in ,particulalry if you do not know French. Normally I would fear for the future of a lone comrade there buthwith two of them we may well have something big in store for us.

Nick is doing some very serious sutdying these days and I am sure he will be able to make a much bigger contribution to the work there upon his return. The experience of the tour will be of great benefit. Do you plan to nominate him for the school if there is one next fall? If you should do so there is no doubt that he will be the nomiee as everyone here is anxious that Vancouver have a go. I am wondering about his hearing--it is very bad. I understand that he has another operation. It would seem to me that this operation is quite essential for him to have before going to school. I must talk to him about it. Got you note about Ken this morning. I think that we will be alright without him. Have only got three persons lined up so far exams ,debts are standing in the way of a couple who would make a real contribution to the tour. Think we will get the 4th alright. Bought the truck this afternoon. Hugh will be working on it tommorrow. Too bad the election is taking place so early. Would have liked to have the election date before us all the way across--probably will only get to Winnipeg by the 18th June. However Cuba and the Carribean will be good for the rest of the way regardless of the results of the elections. We will have to leave as early as possible. Heretofore the 24th of May was early but we may have to break that record.

My impression from his letters is that Ernie too has developed considerably lately and will be able to make a very large contribution to the work in Vacoouver. He will be here somewhere around May 3 or 4 so if we get weather breaks we will be able to pull out early. I gather from a letter Ruth sent to someone here that we are making some very good youth contacts. So while there are certain shifts and adjustments actually we are making some considerable progress. The financial drive testifies to this in the most positive way. The youth trasurer here told me that they are now over their three hundred mark which is truly phenomenal.

So what do you think of the propostion of a Toronto branch orgaizer. This is a first step in solving some of the many problems that are now hitting us and laying the basis for making the paper even a bigger factor in our work than it has been. The matter was tabled at the last branch meeting because of the lateness of the time. There is no doubt in my mind that the branch can finance it

But I must pack up. We had a busy day today with the anti-nuclear arms parade. General impression is that it reveals a ~~XXXXXXXX~~decline of the movement. The parade was slightly smaller but had a perfect day this year. Very few new people or youth around it. Main line of the featured speaker at the city hall steps was in praise of Green. Best thing about it was the appearance of the NDP youth Metro paper. ..and of course the Vanguard. But the old gang were hostile to the paper ~~xxx~~ Feinberg urged them not to take it. Have a social on tonight so I am going to close my regular Saturday night duty off now at 9.30

Enclosing a few copies of the Metro yo th paper.

fraternally

Ross

May 10 1962

Dear Malcolm

Here it is May the 10th and I had hoped to be well into the paper so that we could straughten up the dateline for the tour. But we have yet to get the tour into shape. Havent finished the superstructure on the truck--the coming Temasters strike has pulled a couple of our most able comrades in this area of work out of ~~xxxxxxx~~ general action. Havent got the lists all lined up yet for the tour either. Want to get a sppecially good issue of the Fair Play Bulletin out so that the tour can really open up things for us in this direction too. Our banquet is now right on us and we are going to all have to push to get the 180 parsons out to it that we need. And so it goes And so I wont take up anything but the most pressing.

Glad to get the last article wit h your name on it. Cut it a bit but only where I think you yourself oked it.

Hope we can arrange to get someone to take over the Mauno clipping service. It has been a great iad in writing up trade union notes and Around the NDP. In the last issue we used the material he sent on the Oilworkers General Strike letter & Barry Mahhers at the Fishermen. It requires little effort on the part of some comrade and could have the beneifical eefect of getting them to follow newsdevelopments on a consistant basis. Mauno is coming into Toronto Saturday and we are all looking forward to things opening up a bit in Montreal through his efforts. Next fall our most able campus worker will be tranfering to a Montreal University so we will have some mobile forces there who will be able to make good contact with the NDP there. This will be good for our press--Quebec has too long been a blank space and there is a lot of motion there

Hope you had a chance to read the CP document on Trotskyism. Not sure just yet what we will do with it . Enclosing an article from the Tribune which settles one question. We had heard that they were going to publish a series of 6 articles with it as a base but here they have taken up perhaps the most important from a popular point of view part of it. It would seem that unless the Quarterly takes up the rest that the document will not be handled in any other way than circulation hand to hand amongst the cadre and questioning elements in the ranks. As things now stand I think we should write a pamphlet--reproducing the whole think with our answer and perhaps a trenchant introduction from your typewriter. I thikn that the document is of inter national importance. The first part would seem to me to be something that the Marx-Engels institute under K's orders has drwan up and the rest only tacked on --the Canadian angle. Since Hansen will be up here in ten days I dont think we will make any decisions on its handling. Sending you the Tribune ~~xxxxxxxx~~ as it is possible with the lead as it is that it wont be carried in the Pacific Tribune or may be headed up a different way.

So what have you got for the coming issue. I am hoping it can be here by the 17th or 18th.

with warmest regards

Ross

Hood development in Fair Play there---Ken has sent us all the dope should we want to use it in the paper. Will be in the FPCC bulletin

June 6, 1962

Dear Ruth; (Bollock) Ruth T (late)

A hurried note to take up several small matters that ~~you~~ have been standing.

Received a letter from Connie Weisman of the SWP office to the effect aht a very good friend of ours Frank and Beatrice ~~Smith~~ & Childrss have come up to live in Vancouver. Their address is Apt 303 1393 Robson Street
Vancouver. B.Cl

According to Connie they came around to the headquarters on the night that we advertised meetings and no one turned up. Commie says that they are wonderful people. But possibly you have already contacted them

Glad to see that you have accepted your branch quota of subs. Probably we will need time too.over and above the plan. Sorry that the rate of the sub was not mentioned. Yes we are in the process of changing the price of the paper and publicly did so in the pamphlets that we have published. This issue of the Vanguard appears with a ten cent price on it. But we have decided to keep the old price for the duration of the sub drive. Next issue we will probably announce in the column that we haveraised the price and carry a box advertising the special drive price. So I wounder if you would tell the comrades that during the drive the old price remains

Received your comments with regards to the candidacy of Ruth T for the LT school. In about another month or so we will probably be getting a letter from the south with regards to nominations for the school. We will forward the information to the Vancouver branch and at that time of course Ruth and anyone else the branch might have in mind could be nomiated. I would think that the executive there would discuss the qualifications of the various comrades knowing their availability, made a reocmmendatio to the branch which would then make its recommendation to the PC. Yes it would be excellent if one of the women comrades were available and the branch thought them qualified to recommenda them. There is no doubt in My mind from the short time I had to discuss with Ruth that she is highly qualified--she is a real activist and such an opportunity to study would round her out. Not that it matters at this time but I would doubt since Ruth and Ernie have been separated so long now that it would be agreeable to them that she would now take off for six months.

Re your note of 22nd May. Yes we have received comrade McGarvie's statement. He has addressed it to the PC and I would suppose that it will have to come up there--I do not see that it should be returned "as a matter of course", for it is his right to add ress such a statement to the PC. I am not sure how the PC will handle this. Has he not raised the matter with the branch executive or the branch at all. ---I see he says that a copy went to the branch. How did the branch handle it---table it until the PC took action? My own reaction would be to refer it back from the PC until such time as the branch executive has made some recomm endation. We are not qualified without some statement from the branch to take action it would seem to me or to efen properly assess the vailidity of the various matters raised. I do not see how some kind of action on it can be evaded by the branch. The PC will be meeting in a couple of days and it would be good if the branch would take some action, make some recommendation on this matter

I will present all the ~~xxfx~~ other matters that you have addressed to the EC.

Received our first letter from the tour this morning. The anti-Communist campaign carried by the NDP brass is having a terrible intimidating effect on various persons who two years ago when the tour wnet through accepted us as ~~xxxxxxx~~ part of the movement. We will probably be changinf the schedule ~~xx~~ -- we had planned to get one week in in Winnipeg before the 18th. However Ernie's note from the Soo says that they are considering this matter over again in the light of the little we are getting out of the NDP election campaign--they may take time to go back and up north through Cobalt, Timmins, Kirkland Lake Noranda etc.

fraternally

Ross D

June 6, 1962

Dear Ruth (late!)

Thanks for the clippings

Very glad to get Scott on Cuba—glad to get anything about Cuba by Vancouver columnists local visitors etc---I would imagine we would get all the newsservice dispatches here.

Glad to get union material--IWA, Fishermen any local developments you think of national interest. Any NDP local developments

I would think that we get everything on Saskatchewan that is of interest except again of course columns written by local newspaper featured writers

I would say your latest selection is fine. The fracas at the Diefenbaker rally was well covered here by the press --but nothing much about the details and charges of who was resonsible. Worth thousands of vote to Diefenbaker-- as was the fracas in Sudbury. The CP is supporting the Liberal there and are following a policy of defeat Gillis at all costs. Dief came out ~~thurm~~ of that incident stronger too.

I am sure from your reading of the Vanguard you know just what we want and we are very happy to get it. Going to press early with the next issue of the paper. We want it all set but for the election material.on the election day. I amwondering if it would be possible to send us all the material on the BC results just as soon as they come out--the detailed BC results and opinions --Tuesday's paper---we would have it by Wednesday or Thursday then.

Got a lengthy letter from Ernie today--the first from the tour. They are in Sault Ste Marie. He tells me that he hasn't heard from you since he pulled out—and then adds that possibly he doesn't have the ~~prop~~your correct address. ..and asks me to send it along to him. The schedule will in all probability be changed ---the plan had been to get into Winnipeg for a week before the election but what with the reaction from NDPers it would appear to me that it would be just as well to take it easy and do some work in Norand, Timmins, Cochrane etc. We are waiting for the decision and the route so that WE CAN SEND THEM THE bundles of the paper and also some letters .I hear from Carson that you are working in the hospital—I understand that you are in charge of the sub work but I do hope that you can find the time to keep in touch with Ernie. He has quite a responsibility on his shoulders right now

He asked me to send you $25 from the book sales

fraternally

Ross

June 6, 1962

Dear Reg

Just a note on the letter you sent in and our failure to publish it.

Decided not to carry letters to the editor this issue. Had a couple but all of them but for your were too long. A poem by Purdy but with lines well over the length of one column meaning it would have to be set too column. A letter from that fellow from Windsor T Brown. over three plges of copy long. We will have to put a note in the paper telling people to cut them down.

two columns

Of course we could have published the letter alone however there is another problem with it. Our column around the NDP criticizes Douglas ~~Smith~~ on th very question that your visitor praises him----his promise of jobs for all. It is true that this demand separated left from right at the founding convention --the right wing not wanting to get committed to it--the left saying yes-for it poses the whole question of how we will get the jobs for all. So we are all for the promise. But thenas sosicalists dont we have the responsibility to show that it requires a drastic operation of the capitalist organism. The way Douglas raises this whole matter it is sheer demagogy. As you will probably note we have taken an increasingly more critical attitude to the NDP campaign. Looking at it from here it stinks. The red baiting here is terrible--there is not a speech that it contains some lengthy declaration against communism. The Ont leadership announced last week that they were going to take legal action against the CP(the Toronto Star made a big joke of it) and I thought that it would more or less stop at that. But today's paper reports that they have now actually gone forward with the actual court actions. The campiagn literature is rotten--even some of the machine have dropped comments about its non labor character. ..that is why I felt it necessary at this time to take up the main programmatic leaflet. It looks to me like they will not take many seats other than in BC. Of course the letter to the editor is an open column but then this letter has your name on it--the name most identified with the LSA in Vancouver.

I think we have to prepare our readers for our evaulation of the election results---for they are it seems certain to me to be a serious disappointment

Re your comments about the decision that I should go to Europe. It is very difficult for us to go into length about it. For I must say the details of the proposition were not very detailedly discussed . JH raised the matter as a most serious one and an obligation on our part in all their opinion. The details of it are to be discussed next week .I will be at the plenum to take this all up. But JH and their opinion seemd to be enough for me--they are not given to make ill considered demands on us. As you know the branch here decided that it would take on an organizer this fall and decided on Cliff O. Well we are in a position to take hi on right away and here is the need. I cant thing of a better way to swing someone into action. We have to get out of the straightjacket we are in and here we have to opportunity to make a forced march to do so. This last issue of the paper has been long in coming out as I went through it in detail with Cliff. We will have one an possibly two more issues before I need leave. So I feel that we are in a position to get things in good order.

I amconvinced it will be good allaround here for the branch--and also for me You know I have had very little opportunity to develop. There will no doubt be a few more mistakes made than are being made now but I am trying to get us into a position to minimumize them

fraternally

June 26, 1962

Mulnes Landing

Dear comrades;

A long long time since I have written you.Unfrotunately as the opportunities have opened up and the movement hase continued to slowly but steadily add to its forces I have had to cut down on the correspondence Last month we decided to move towards a partial solution of thise problem by taking on a young comrades as Toronto branch organizer. But he is going to take at while to get into the routine. The first task we have given him is to get into the job of putting out the paper--the technical aspects --which should relieve me a bit.

Gald to hear about your work in the NDP out there. Did we manage to make any new worthwhile connections through the election work? Most of our comrades were quite busy during the campaign although some of us were excluded by the brass. In the next period we hope to make some real impact There is widespread dissapointment over the election results--and the old stuff about lack of forces and funds is not too acceptable. There is common feeling that the NDP leadership policy did not differentiate the party from the Liberals. And I would suppose in the light of the renwed up surege of the Liberals that there is fear even amongst the brass itself that a new election which would strengthen the Liberals in all probability would see a serious depletion of NDP support--possibly put it on the skids.
At anyrate right now we are pressing everywhere for meetings to be called to discuss the election results. We hope that the climate will be such that we will be able to present some good resolution for the coming fall Ontario NDP convention. The big problem here in the East is that there are very few functioning clubs. The brass wants only election machines. We launched our annual sub drive during the elections and we have concentrated our work on houses in working class areas that displayed NDP election signs. Didn't have too much time for this but the last few nights we tourded through the areas of greatest concentration to take down numbers. Last night four of us went out and sold some 12 subscriptions---most of the people in the area were Italian but the ones I dols were all members of the NDP--so we are getting the paper right into the movement.

Of course with the LSA here functioning openly with weekly forums we are not dependent on the NDP. In fact the base of the NDP has very little possibility for us. Our best area of recruitment has been the youth. ..the same situation prevails in the Vancouver area. The constituecny organizatio ns havent developed yet and the unions have really flooded into the NDP It is still pretty well controlled --we need a development of the economic crisis to open it up. We have a youth group both here and in Vancouver and there are some excellent types coming around it. This next term will see a sizeable group of young revolutionary socialists on the University of Toronto campus. My impression is that the Vancouver youth are predominately workers.

The tour this year aside from an old veterna Ernie Tate(aboutb27) is all youth--a Vancouver comrade and two quite inexperienced young com rades from Toronto. They are now in the Timmins area. Having good experienc es. Today some subs came in from Timmuns and from the writing on some of them I gather that NDP Murdo Martin MP attacked the Vanguard over local TV

me red baiting has been very firece--with the NDP actually taking itself to court trying to get injunctions against the CP--really imperilling civil rights. Persons who in past years have been quite friendly this years were much more reserved during the election campaign. The comrades where they dont hold public meetings are planning to hold house meetings wherever possible on Cuba and Latin America. One of the comrades has only just returned from a tour of Cuba and Latin America and they have slides a projector and screen along on the tour along with equipment that they can make notices with for any meetings. They held one in Sudbury and at this time I do not know where elese. The comrades write that they are suprised how confused even the best types are about Cuba--they are selling more literature on Cuba than on anything sles. Of course the truck is literally loaded with material on Cuba. The Pioneer Publishers have published the entire speech Castro made against the CP and Escalante--and the entire speech on Echevarria--the New York FPCC has published his speech on Marxism-Leninism and of course the Second Havana Declaration whic which is all ours.

Do you get into Vancouver at all thesecdays? The branch is in good shape- I suppose you noticed from the financial drive column that they raised their quota of $750 dollars and they are now working out their subscription campaign quota. Almost the entire staff of the tour will be staying on in Vancouver when they arrive in September. I hear that NDP candidate Margaret Erickson established the headqurarters as her campaign he headquarters. Havent heard a report on what we achieved in the election campaign. The meeting held for Joe Hansen was attended by something like a hundred persons. Joe thought it was a big success. We held a banquet here but the oppresivley hot weather cut attendance down to about 129 for the meal and about 140 at the end. Hope you managed to get in for this as Joe's trip through Latin America was a big event. He made invaluabl connections for the movement, and not just the sensational ones suvh as intervewing Juliao but he met all the Trotslyists both from the IS and the IC. We have a mass movement in Argentina with impressive forces in Chile and Peru. He had a notable exprience in Jamaica.

With a break this July q26 may see me in Cuba. The Ambassador here told Vern Olson of Fair Play that the government would be probably inviting several Cdns to this years celebration so I took it upon myself to write the ambassador directly to ask if he would try to arrange my going. It would be an invaluable experience and very good for our press. No one has been there since Vern met our people. I suppose you noticed in the Militant that our comrades there have managed to get out for public sale a pamphlet containing the old man's essay on Lenin's testament with an extensive excerpt from The Permanent Revolution.

I had the good fortune to attend the SWP plenum last week but I will leave this matter over until you get the main resolution adopted by the plenum in an internal bulletin which should be out very shortly.

Drop us another line on the situation out there. Possibly the tourists will take a short spin on the island before closing off the tour

fraternally

Ross Dowson

June 26, 1962

Hattie Fergussen
1896 W 1st Ave
Vancouver 9, B.C.

Dear Hattie;

Happy to hear from you . It hasn't been all silence however as I have noted your comments that have appeared from time to time in Workers World. I gather that Alex doesn't get out of the West these days.

I have no idea just what Ken Grieve means by telling you that we of the League for Socialist Action are talking about starting a new mass political party. Are you in touch with Ruth Bullock at all--she is the organizer of our Vancouver Branch---or with any of the many activities of the League out there. Joe Hansen was much impressed with the meeting that was held out there for him--hope you knew about it. However now that I recall it he also had a bit of a brush with Ken. It appears that Ken took it upon himself to attempt to embrass the Vancouver Fair Play for Cuba Committee by attacking it and asking Hansen of his opinion of his criticisms.

Ken isn't exactly the best person to learn from of the various activities and ppans and outlook of the League. Things have changed quite a bit in the past while for us in Vancouver. They are looking up. That is a fine headquarters we have there at 875 East Hastings. We have turned outward and are not limited to whatever the NDP ~~xxxx~~brass decides is good for the Vancouver working class. We have broken out of the old shell that you used to know of old. Why dont you give Ruth a call or better still go down to the next meeting and hang around a while later and have a discussion with several of the comrades.

While we are completely united and hold a common view about the question you raise---and it would be best that you have a detailed discussion with our comrades out there--here are a few comments .

We would certainly like to build a mass political party--that is our aim and I think that we are making substantial pregress in that direction. But we think that it going to be build by having a sensitive orientation to the New Democratic Party for all its Bergers and worse. I dont know who the left wingers are that you have been talking to who look to the NDP with hope. The NDP ~~xxx~~ is there and despite the recent electoral defeat quite firmly there. It seems apparent to me that the Canadian workers are going to go through an experience . It is debatable at what tempo, how long etc. But it seems certain that the workers are going to have to have a real experience with the NDP. This is a big arean for us to work in and it is our responsibility to wkr in it--not leave the workers to the tender mercies of the Bergers as the Stalinists did in their third period madness of red trade unionism.

We have a very good set-up with the LSA. We have an instrument which has an independent existence . We have comrades who are barred from the NDP. unfortunate but no tragedy. NDP activity is on such a low level that the LSA has a very important role to play and these comrades can serve as the committed and prime movers.

(page 2 missing)

of its activities. Then we have the Vanguard which regardless of our circumstances in the NDP can say exactly what we think it is necessary to say.

You see I am not at all sure what you mean by considering a "new party to give left wingers a chance to work in, like a Canadian Industrial Labor Party." The NDP is certainly a bread arena in which to work... an arena in which we have to work, have a responsibility to work despite the efforts of the Bergers. What would a "Canadian Inudstrial Labor Party" be.? More socialist, more militant? ~~How would it differ from the League for Socialist Action?~~ Where would it stand as between the NDP and a nucleus of the mass revolutionary socialist party of tomnorrow?

You see we have set up the League for Socialist Action. Have you seen our pamphlet explaining what it is and what it wants . I would imagine you have read the last issue of the Vanguard with my lengthy article explaining the relationship of the LSA to the NDP. But as I say with the LSA we have a very sensitive instrument that can work on a wide basis within a general framework.

I am sure that the comrades in Vancouer would be pleased to have a real talk with you about their work, about their views. I am inclined to believe that you will find yourself in substantial agreement with them and will draw the necessary conclusions.

Sometime when you have an opportunity I would be pleased to know what you think of the Vanguard .

fraternally

Ross Dowson

July 15, 1962

Vancouver

Dear Ruth; B (Bollock)

In our May 3 minutes a motion appeared passed unanimously that your status be raised from an alternative member to that of full membership in the NC

Subsequently we received a letter dated May 9 from you stating that you wanted to have your name as a member of the NC removed. This letter was discussed at the PC meeting and the following are our thoughts;

The PC of course did not pass this motion as a "pointless gesture." Nor do we feel that there was long delay of any ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ unusual or questionable character in our acting to fill the vacancy in the national committee.

~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

The vanancy appeared through the Vancouver branch rejecting the membership application of comrade Riley who we note we notified immediately following our PC meeting here on February 12. That no action was taken in the March 4 meeting and the April 15 meeting was an unfortunate oversight but has no significance other than pointing up a certain inefficiency on our part

The motion was passed by the NC not as a gesture. It is your right and your responsibility to be on the NC. The national convention voted you on as an laternate and next in line to full membership. You are beholden to the national convention. According to our ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~constitution Article V Section 3 paragraph 2 "The National convention shall also elect---alternates to fill vanancies in the National Committee in the order decided upon by the Convention. Para.3 Members of the National Committee may be dropped from the Committee and/or from the party only by vote - of the national convention. Mamembers of the National Committee, may, however, for cause be suspended from membership and be barred from all rights as members, pending final decision of the party convention, by vote of two-thirds of the membership of the national committee."

According to our interpretation of the constitution you are now a member of the national committee.with full membership status. While our constitution does not take up such a situation we donot see why it is not possible for an NC member to resign. Such an action is highly unusual and we feel on the basis of your letter of May 9 incomprehensible.

While we are not at this time able to recall any precedents we would take it that such an action would usually flow from a profoundly serious political disagreement-- one that has been expressed,fought out, decided upon --and thought to be so vital by the

by a minority spokesman that it was absolutely impossible ~~for~~ to submit to the ordinary processes of democratic centralism, to assume in anyway any responsibility for the line , that is as a leader of the movement.

We do not have any situation such as this--we dont have any stated reasons which could be understood in a report to the next convention.

We would therefore ask you to withdraw your letter of May9th and to assume your post as a national committee member. We would also ask you to record your vote on the mtion presented by the PC to the NC in the May 3rd minutes with regards to the Whitney clique. We of course have your letter of May 17.

Fraternally

Kent

July 17, 1962

Dear Malcolm

I can see no point in taking up the many points you make in your last letter , in trying to argue them, but I must protest your interpretation of our comments on the application of your name to the LSA hall. Our intention was in no way to belittle yourself, your place in the mind and the heart of t e working class, not at all. We are well aware of the great contribution that you have made and continue to make to the working class movement of Canada and the place that you r example has already assured you in their minds--in the minds of those of them who are now will class conscious and the minds of t ose who are yet to become so and want to know where they have come from.

I note your post script that following the elections we must give serious consideration to our attitutde to the NDP; I would be interested to know your evaluation of the election--your opinion of the lengthy editorial we carried on the NDP. It is difficult to estimate what impact the results have had on the constituency organisations for there never was any tradition of evaluating results, calling meetings to discuss them--in fact none of the clubs in the Toronto area have had meetings of any kind since the election. We are pressing for them and so far there has been a picnic by Sapdina and a dance -social by York East --that's about all. We have had no information of any type on the impact of the results in BC--the toursits havent hit Manitoba and from our reports from Saskatchewan the election results have been lost in the great turmoil over Meidcare. This has tremendously strengthened the NDP-CCF according to a youth member of ours who is out there right now and wh has lived there all her life. She reports that there is a great feeling of unity between left and right and a great enthisiams behind the clinic projects that are being promoted. We are looking forward to receiving a peper that they are publishing out there on the whole battle

You mention in the beginnings of your letter that you will take up the "never ending matter of the B W-y bucnh. Yes we certainly still have it with us but I hope that we can really settle the matter in the next few weeks. If Whitney didn't have McGarvery before he has him now. And I would suppose he also Leslie Maw. The minutes of June 11 are not too clear but read as follows "Noted by organizer that no contribut ion to fund drive received by(from) Les Maw, in spite of correspondence with him. Assumed membership dropped." I say this is not to clear because one does not know whether we are assuming that Maw has dropped his membership or whether we are dropping it for him--in actuality expelling him. If the latter is the case it will be without precedence in our movement as contributions to fund drives are voluntary, only dues are obligatory and sepcial assessments. I doubt that Maw has let it drop if only for the fact that Whitney would try to stop him

They are in full cry now--with new forces and added arguments. I am enclosing a letter that we have just prepared for the Toronto LSA. Jenkins tried to use the Toronto branch as a lever to intervene and to pressure the PC. But we of course are not going to let him do so. He has apparently been caught up in their factionalism In his preliminary comments before he was ruled out of order he mentioned the Mc Garvey case--how he was brought into the Vancouver area upon my request(I dont know what weight this is supposed to have) and how his charges were met with the trickery of couter-charge--and he got started along the line that the Branch has dropped the orientation through the removal of the LSA banner and its substitution with Bruce Hall. In a discussion with him later he started to tell me that he has a copy of a letter that I sent to McGarvey and that he has a bulletin for circualtion. I told him of course that he was not circulating any bulletin through the Toronto branch --that the party bulletin was the property of the NC

It appears that the bulletin has a lengthy article which attempts to give the clique a political line--very necessary of course--and it appears that itsbased on the changing of the name of the hall and the alleged removal of the banner etc. I must say that it was with considerable satisfaction that I could deny all this right across the line, completely and absolutely.

What we are lacking now is your vote on the motion that was presented by the Pc to the NC for roll call vote. Possibly ~~xxx~~ probably you are opposed to this motion calling for the laying of specific charges against those refused. I do not know how you evaluate the recent developments but if I had any doubts at all before about the need to do this I have none now. It seems apparent to me that this is the only way that we can get rid of the whole question before the convention --and leave the convention in a position to handle it quickly and get onto the real business that concerns us--building the forces of the party. Would you cast your vote return mail.

I an Macphee will be back with you shortly. I am going to have to find timevto drop in on him again at the hospital here where he is recovering froj an operation on a rupture he suffered just before sialing from Toronto for England last week Now he will not be going back to England but will be flying back to Vancouver. Strikes mevas an excellent type of revolutionary worker. Have him reading Twotsly's My Life which doesn't require too much concentration, can be read even if your sick--and yet is a very valuable book for the education of revolutionairies. Next bed he has found a Greek socialist who despite the languarge barrier appears to know all about the Trotskyists and is very much interested in us.

Looks like my side trip to Cuba is off. I took advantage of our knowledge that a dozen or so are probably being invited to go to Cuba for this July 26 to write the ambassador and tell him I would like them to give me a lift there. Figure I could go back to England after flying to Europe on their Prague flight.

But havent heard a word and time is flying. Of course they could stil make a snap order ---the other day they phoned Fair Play that they could send a student--had to have name within one hour. What student has a passport and can be available on such notice. Ended up that Pat Mitchell, hardly a student in the tradtional meaning of the word will be going. Unfortunately she can stay only two weeks because of her job and there is so much we would like to learn. An American Negro intellecutal just in from Cuba dropped in on us a few days ago. Reaffirmed the report in the Militant that Trotskyist literature is on sale in the major bookstores or newsstands. Told us that the CPers in control of Radio Havana told Williams that his braodcasts ware beamed into the southern United States--and it turns put that they were lucky to be heard as far as Miami.

Will try to write another line before pulling out

with socialist greetings

Ross D

July 17, 1962

John Wilson

Dear Reg;

We had a meeting of the PC on Sunday evening. John has not yet had a chance to type up the minutes but I I am beating their going out in order to raise a matter to your attention

In the May3rd minutes the PC presented a motion for a roll call vote by all NC members. We have not received your vote as of this date. Just in case you have misplaced the minutes I am typing up the motion---"Motion that the applications of those who were members of the now dissolved Branch 1 be handled by the Vancouver branch in line with the concept that these comrades have not been expelled as individuals and that their applications for continued membership in our movement be either accepted or that formal charges be laid against them and that they be given an opportunity to be heard on these charges prior to a final decision being taken as to their status on the branch plane."

Would you send in your vote at once.

We have of course a good idea of your feelings on this motion. I doubt if there are any new arguments to be presebted from either viewpoint . But the matter cannot be left hanging any longer. If you are abstaining then in my opinion you should say so--or if you are voting against it it shouldn't be by the foot method but by your actually doing so.

I certainly cannot believe that this is a split question--that the relations between the center and Vancouver all this time have been on the basis that we have had agreement and now that we have disagreement that we are being told to go to hell just not in words. For you probably know that Malcolm has also not cast his vote and Ruth has sent us a letter telling us that she refuses to step up from an alternate to a full fledged member of the NC which isn't even her perogative. She has voted in neither capacity but in a lengthy letter continues the arguemtn and then winds up "if you insist in taking the matter out of the hands of the local then the PC should itself press charges against these persons-if you fee such action justified--and conduct the trials yourselves."

We know that there are strong personal feelings around this question. They are so strong that if I did not feel that they involved such a flagrant violation of the constitution, I for one would let them go. One could satisfy onself that after all they do not involve our political principles but organizational matters. But I am afraid that they involve no small organizational matter---and what is more it is widening out in its scope.

I was startled to read in the June 11 minutes— I quote--these are the official records---"Noted by organizer that no contribution to fund drive received by(from) Les Maw, in spite of correspondence with him. Assumed membership dropped." What is one to make of this --assumed membership dropped? Does this mean that he has been expelled--would this be what he would be tol d if he turned up at the next membership meeting? And for what. The fund drive contribution is a voluntary one--it is certainly bad that he made no contribution--I don't know his financialsituation but cannot accept that he was in no position to make any contribution. But no one can be

expelled from our movement on such grounds. Are those the grounds--they have to be stated

And we are not dealing here with an individual or even one that is walking away --not that this in anyway would justify a violation of our constitution. We are dealing with a bloc. Far from smashing Whitney, isolating him--our actions out there are building him up. Ig he didn(t have McGarvey before he has him now. Possibly we couldn't do anything to stop this but it seems to me that we expedited it. I am afraid we have allowed ourselves to get trapped in cligue politics.

If we are not to have this swamp our coming national convention or put a hellish pall over it we are going to have to act now. The PC has put forward a motion which we have asked for a vote on and we would like to have your vote at once.

Will pick up some other matters later

fraternally

Ross

I take it that Des has landed in your place. Hope he doesn't put you to too much trouble. You are possibly going to be faced wit another visitor---- Ian will be out of the hospital in a couple of days and should be on his way to Falscrick a few days later. Havent heard about the possibility of sending a Vancouver youth to meet the tour. I would imagine it would be tough to meet this request after the comrades have made plans for the fall. Just thought there might be someone. We turned down one comrade who wished to go but who we think is not qualified--so you see in our opinion it is not too serious a matter if they are compelled to proceed with three instead of four.

July 18, 1962

(Note 2)

Dear Ruth

Last night a couple of us finished packing all the worldy goods of Des, Ernie and what Nick has here. We are shipping the packages today via Gill Transport to Vancouver. They will deliver in the Vancouver area at no extra charge. They are going to your address which seems most propser as the bluk of the parcels are yours and Ernie's The strike is now over and I would suppose Des would like to get his goods as soon as possible so he can settle down somewhere. There is one parcel, (carton). somewhat brown with handling-I have circled the address with the marking pencil so you can easier pick out- that Ernie might possibly appreciate your not opening. I take it that the carton contains personal correspondence as when he brou ht all the stuff down he was anxious that that parcel in particular should be sealedup. Like all of us, and perhaps more than some, Ernie treasures his privacy.

This is one little project among the many that I wanted to get cleared away before leaving the country. Looks like the Cubans havent taken up my proposition to invite me to Cuba for July 26 so tomorrow I will be making arrangments to go direct to England

I was up to visit Ian McPhee yesterday, Probably you know he is here from Rita. It would appear that his operation is successful. He hopes to be out of hospital within a couple of days and then a few days later on his way to Vancouver via air. He is bunking in with a Greek who appears to be well acquainted with our views and was a participant in the revolutionary struggles there ~~[illegible]~~ in the latter days of the war. We have Ian reading MY LIFE which he says he can hardly put down. He should give the branch a bit of a lift upon his return-- he impresses me as a dynamic revolutionary worker type

How do you like the enclosed photo. Skulking in the background are several more you know whats

fraternally

Ross

81 Queen Street West
July 22, 1962

Ocean Falls

Dear Bob

Gald to hear that you will be coming through Toronto in the next month. But sorry to say that I will not be here. In the next week , not sure of the day I will be heading either for Cuba or for England. And I will be away for three months.

I dont know whether you were able to get down to the Vancouver meeting for Joe Hansen--probably not. That was the meeting where he reported on his Latin American tour. Aside from his public address he held a 5 to 8 hour meeting here and probably did the same in Vancouver during which he gave the deatield picture of the state of health and extent of our forces, other currents and tendencies of the left. The Cuban revolution had had tremendous impact in Latin America nad there are whole new possibilities opening up for our movement. Since I am leaving this week there are a great many matters I have to clean up so I will be unable to give you any real picture of these developments other than to say that the Cuban revol ution itself and the new opportunities that are opening up right across thr world make it m re pressing than ever that the forces of the world movement be unified. Furthermore in the light of the fact that the differences have been narrowing between the forces of the IC and the IS it ~~xxx~~ is also essential. The IC has gone on record favoring certain moves in the direction of co-ordinating and eventually fusing our forces but there are many problems. ~~Thexxxxxxx~~ Joe Hansen is going over this week on behalf of the Militant and intends to stay for at least a year. I have been asked to go but we have decided that it is not possible to stay more than three months

Right now I am still waiting hoping that the Cuban government will answer yes to my request that they pick me up and park me down in Cuba for a couple of weeks. The Ambassador received my r quest and sent it on. So far no word althoug they are notoriously inefficient. Their inefficiency makes me think that while July 26 is only four days away that they may still send the word to come. It would be invaluable if before going to Europe I was able to spend a couple of weeks in Cuba. I would like to meet and discuss with our comrades. I suppose you read in the Militant the report that Trotskyist literature is now for sale on the streets. This was affirmed a few days ago by a Negro photographer that just dropped in on us after having come in from spending 6 months in Cuba via the Cuban Airlines. I will be leaving for Europe on July 26 probably and am really looking forward to meeting all the British comrades--will probably go to Italy and France too. It will be a new experience for me --I have never been outside of Canada accept for a few trips to New York, Seattle, Chicago. It will also be a new experience for the comrades here---my absence. All in all a good experience I would think. Right now we have five comrades away involved in the national tour. One of the original four seriously sprained his ankle and has gone onto Vancouver and we have had to send antoehr to Winnipeg

Come into Toronto anyway by all means. The comrades would like to meet both you and Angus. It will be very rewarding to meet the Detroit comrades. Some of the top SWPers are there. George Breitman lives there.Although he is not at all well he is one of the most able on the continet. Frank Lovell and his wife are also extremely able comrades. Lovell is a first class trade union ist. He at one time headed the Mariti e fraction and wrote an excellent book on Maritime union movement and problems. He should be of real aid. I do not have anyone's personal address but here is the headquarters address

Frank Lovell
3737 Woodward, Detr it, Michigan, U.S.A

Glad to hear that things are moving a bit in Ocean Falls. We have just come through the biggest trade union involvement that we have ever had. I suppose you read the reportson the Teasmters Union strike in recent Vanguards. The coming or next issue wi l carry a rounded balance sheet. FWD played a big role--in fact all opositionists to the machine have been designated over some of their protests as FWDers. We had six comrades in the strike and at varying turning points while the exectuive remained solid we played the decisive role. Everyone has learned a great deal. We put the paper out quite regualrly and played the decisive role in the key meetings. Of course the settlement is a poor one but the final meetings that the ranks forced onto the leadership clearly pointed out the source , the reason to be of the poor settlement--weak leadership. The present leadership is hoeplessly discreddited and while electionsare a while off it seems certain it wi ll never survive. Of course a lot of things can happen in the meantime. There are strong currents in various barns to pull ~~mitnaf~~ out of t his local and even out of the teamsters. The CBRT probably has its eyes on Smith and several other outfits now belonging to the railways. This Wednesday we are going to have an internal ~~xxxxxxx~~ educational on the lessons. A couple of comrades are involved in the local strick of a large leather company organized by the Meatcutters--we have no one working ~~there~~ but have made contact as NDPyouth. One of the boys was arrested this morning when they set up a mass picket to meet workers returning from their holiday leave. Hugh is in a very com lex situation at t e DeHavilland local UAW. Hawker Siddley has announced that the AVRO operation is going to be taken over by their DeHavi land operation . AVRO has been under a IAM contract. and is staffed by ~~xxxx~~ lengthy seniority workers--average about 15 years., The unit numbers about 750 now. DeHavilland ~~average~~ seniority is about 7 and t e unit is around 1200. The copmany wants to grant partial seniority and intends to mix the work forces. DeHavilland is having a settlement meeting--this week if the offer is accepted it will be imposed on the AVRO workers who wi ll in all probabilty be brought into the bargaianing unit in a matter of months. A very very complex situation. The offer is not a good one and Hugh and his associates are going to oppose it-- The leadership are apparently going to try to jam it through so they will have it off their hands when it comes to deal with the IAM. ~~Xxxx~~ Burt has offered the IAM leadership recognizition of their full seniority but the DeHavilland ranks are hot as it will push them all down the ladder and while the plant is booming there is a great fear of the future.

Just finished our subscription drive here --got slighlty more than two hundred new subs. The tour is now in Winnipeg and is doing well. High interest in Cuban literature. Have you picked up a copy of the full text of Castro's speech against Escalante. Really devestating. Last week C.S. Jackson of the UE ordered 10 copies from Fair Play. I wonder what gives. This coming weekend thanks to some overtures made by Fair Play a joint picnic is being held with the Canada-Cuba Friendshio Committee set up by the CP. Should gi us a good opportunity ot contact more of their ranks and overcome their prejudice against us. Things are very quiet with the NDP. We have been unable to get a response to our urgings that the forces be raised hereand elsewhere to put on anti- Doctor and medical increants demonstrations. The youth here put on a modest one that got good publicity but many of the adults frwoned up on it. General policy is let the Daily papers carry out fight and incidentally in passing try to kill it as a political issue. The brass doesn't w want to draw lines but leave them all open for compromise and retreat. All the comrades s hat there is a tremendous interest in Medicare. Waiting right now to see what kind of dea he brass of the NDP is pu ling off. Report of the convention and fears expressed by some elegates are forbodding.

Will be sending you the key document adopted by the recent SWP plenum on the interna ional question strongly related to my trip in a few days. And will be writing conderably for t e paper while away. Will try to send the odd note.

fraternally

Ross Do son

Vienna, Austria
Sept 27/62

Goethehaus Frankfurt am Main
Dichterzimmer

I would imagine that everyone has arrived from the East - My travels here cultures are concentrated - not changes in short distances - Had a good talk with Sal in Amsterdam where the old city is just as the post cards portray - Not so lucky in Frankfurt but attended World Book Fair there - This is the home where the great Goethe was raised - Completely destroyed by "our" bombers but all reconstructed with the original furnishings A veritable palace in his day - 3 floors His father was a lawyer and writer - a commentary on the economics of genius This city was destroyed and completely rebuilt - very modern - the German miracle Vienna by comparison is old - very old Made an excellent connection here all the language problem is complicated Vienna gives me the impression of being the most stodgy industrial city I've been in Vast workers slum apartments - wasn't able to get out to the K M Hoffs for lack of time - Surprising how one can get along without talking - Sometimes one hardly says a word for days - Ross D

Selbstverlag Frankfurter Goethemuseum. Photo: Molzahn-Arnheim

R Bullock
354 West 16th St
North Vancouver
British Columbia
CANADA

November 28, 1962

(First letter after return from Europe)

Dear Ruth and Reg;

I have been most anxious to pick up your resent correspondencebut as you will have seen from your recent mail we are trying our very utmost to get the all that there is in this election for the Toronto, Cnaadian and world movement. The first real break came last night. On Mnday night I spoke to a meeting in the most conservative area of the city--a big meeting. The press did not report a single word of what I said--didn't even mention that I was there. But CBC TV took pictures and after the other TV station gave me about half a minute last night in the Metro NEWS CBC we got about three minutes--I gather that I was the only one reported and they gave a slice of my talk which dealt with the question of subsidized housing..only mention the question of nuclear war. I am told that it was excellent and I am confident that it was as I felt that the speech had a real impact. CKEY apparantly gave us four or five minutes---the material was not so good --in fact I demanded that one portion used by scrapped but in this case I suppose even any publicity is good publicity.Due to delayi ni my returning from Europe then going to the douth we never got. the pamphlet off until thisMonday---this makes one week in order to get 40,000 perices out---what we have normally done in two and hard pushing. We have almost done half of them--put out A CHALLENGE and 3,000 copies of another Italian leaflet. We are using a sound truck with signs that have to be made on Saturday in the dountown area and are planning a picket parade through the shopping crowd. We have 500 posters out now and plan to put out another 500. We have activiated new elements and I do not doubt that we will make some immedaite gains to the League

But to take up the important matter of the expulsions there.From your reports it is apparent that we are doing a terrific job in defending ourselves.A real experience for the newer comrades which might well result in our widening our influence rather than having it curtailed.

Unfortunately it is difficult for me to enter into a discussions of the tactics for what I have before me is a report of decisions taken and acted upon. In order that the center intervene in anyway in your discussion and work other than the treatment in the paper and other than saying bravo bravo which We all do of course some of the problems that confronted us and those still confronting us have to be posed. I am sure that there were some, that many of the decisions did not come easyand that some of the future decisions in so far as time allows should be discussed amongst ourselves--between the organzer and the center or on the PC-NC plane not between the center here and the branch

My first reaction to hearing that we were going to challenge the trial charges and trial on organizational grounds and contemplating should proceedings not meet our organizational requirements walking out was one of uneasiness. The conflict is a political one with the brass utilizing organizational means to serve their political purposes.In the long run protests over organizational methods dissiapte and while it would be wrong to ignore the possibilities on this plane it is necessary soon to move ofrward nonto the political plane. In fact

an effective defence cannot allow them to be spearated. The brass is fh reality fighting a political struggle and sooner or later everyone even t thought they may be uneasy about the "unethcial " means pursued, who agrees with their politics and accepts the political smeas against us ends up going along with the brass.

I see from the release in the press on the expulsions that a little agreement has been made to hush it all up. No official is named, no charges even suggested, none of the "guilty" named, etc. Making all due allowance for the sucrity of the comrades this is the worst thing that can happen--that it should all be hushed up... and handled in the cold way.

Quite possibly this was the best tactic--this walking out--particularly if we thought that the brass might be able to split the forces of those charged, reach deals and sawoffs.But the trial would have put the matter onto the political plane where it actually is--or the trial of some.

Gladtoo receive the appeal to the membership for a fair trial.You did not attach the letter that is referred to in the second paragraph. The legs grounds for our absentin- ourselves and thus making the trial and expulsion an abensentia one are good . And I do not know what the attached letter contains. But in itself it is somewhat weak--as it in itsel only hints at the charges....and makes no political comments other than to explain what the LSA is on a factual basis. Probably you have grounds for making the appeal for a democratic trial and not an investigation and cancellation of the whole action. Of course there should have been no charges at all, no trial, nothing. No doubt the brass are trying us in absentia on political grounds on a wide scale---that we are advocates of force and vuilence and the dictatorship of the proleatariat. If we dont come to grips with this in someway most persons who have doubts about the democracy of the whole thing will tend to accept it anyway. Then too the brass may well give us our "democratic"trial which will frame us up politically.

No doubt this has all been thrashed out. It is certainly impressive to see that Cameron has come out in protest, along with Margaret, Steeves and Bracten---and who else. How are the clubs of which the expelled are members going to handle the matter--are they putting in appeals and continuing to make their meetings and facilieis open to those expelled?

You say that the appeal is only a draft--does that mean that it hasn't been circulated? I do not know how Ruth T is going to handle this whole incident but if it has been circulated amongst the left my feeling is that we should publish it of course with due allowance for the security of the persons involved. If it has been circulated in anyway it seems quite logical if the Vanguard is what it claims to be that it publish it--that it would have come into our hands. Is this the appeal that Cameron has come out in support of? I would appreciate it if you would make sure that Ruth's article is gone over by Malcolm--we would not want Vanguard to take up positions that might in anyway cut across the strategy being followed by the comrades most directly involved. But the Vanguard has to defend itself and the LSA - and not just be a vehicle of the "news".

I have taken a few minutes to glance through the back issues of the Vanguard but from the material that I came across I am not still too sure as to whetehr the Vanguard is proscribed in the BC sectioh. I see f from the letter sent to Margaret that the brass is acting on the basis that it has been proscribed and furthermore on the basis of the charges

which have now been upheld that the LSA is a proscribed organization. I see that she is charged with "participating in activities of the LSA" So in a sense they are not out to proscribe the LSA--they have proscribed it. ...for the youth at anyrate. Havent they followed up the trial with something to this effect . It wouls seem logical.

But it is now five thirty and I have four meetings to get to tonight and am somewhat tired as I was up yesterday morning at 6;30 and this morning at 5;30

I think it would be very beneficial if we had a discussion on the big struggle that we are now conducting---difficult by mail I know--but we might be able to help in someway. It is in that spirit that I venutre to make the above comments.

Would you show them to Malcolm, Ernie--the NC members.

fraternally

Ross

December 1, 1962

(Ruth Bullock?)

Dear R

Well we did it----60,000 leaflets this time--one and a half times as many as ever before---in one half the time.

Election day tommorrow---Then on Tuesday I have been invited to address a class of fifty on the validity of Marxism today -at Ryerson--the Ontario government advanced technical school here.

Have you been getting the US Internal bulletins. I am placing an order here and now recall that the US N.O. asked me to have you send them an address to which they could send the usual notice on the publication of a bulletin, its content and cost. George B used to get it and handle the bulletin orders I understand. Who now? Send them an address first chance you get.

Incidently I never met George. When I came into London after attending the Brighton LP convention GH told me that he had just received notice from George where he was settling down and gave me the address. It turned out according to GH that the address was away on the outer edge of London--and he had given no phone. It was a Saturday and so I immediately wrote George telling him I would like to see him and giving him my phone number and address. I put aside Monday night--stayed in expecting a call but there was none. There was no message either Tuesday or Wednesday in my box and I left Thursday for the continent. When I came back to England fully xpecting to stay a few days I found that I had to leave the same day or stay over another five as there are propeller planes which my ticket specified only about onece a week. I didn't have sufficient funds to sat over that long and besides I knew that we were con templating entering the Toronto elections and time was slipping away fast.

Have you heard from George---and do you have an address. I would like to drop him a line. I met George Sauders of the YSA who met George and Helen at Helsinki. He told me that they were very vigorous proponents of the SLL line as against the SWP line. But I dont know

fraternally

Ross

December 3, 1962

(Bungalo)

Moutain Spring

Dear Nick

This is just about the first few minutes that I have been able to put aside ever since I returned. Today is voting day--all the leaflets are out, the posters up, the speeches made and today we will know the surface results of all our work.

This campaign was the most dynamic one we have ever put on. I returned to Toronto just in time to give a report of the situation in the world movement then on the Monday to make the nomination acceptance speech. I was not able to get the copy for the leaflet into the printers hands, cut made and copy marked up until Friday. We pushed the leaflet through the print shop and had it for distrubution Monday. Thus we had one week in which to do what we have usually two weeks for. Everyone pitched in and by Wednesday it was apparent that we would be able to distribute as many copies of the leaflets as we have usually done so we ordered anoher 20,000. Thus we distributed 60,000--one and a half times as many as we usually do in half the time. We put out a special Italian leaflet--3,000 for circulation in those areas where we knew it was solidly Itlanian. On Saturday we rented a sound truck and wove it in and around the downtown area. The council passed a special law permittin them to use sound trcusk in the douwntown area--probably didn't think that we would take advantage of it. We also ran a llman picket line thro ught the shpppping crowds on Satuday--the crowds were tremendously bolstered in n mbers by Gray Cup fans

Tonight I will try to get on TV as the results come in. The press did their usual shabby job with us. The Star blackout was complete, absolute aside for recording the fact that we nominated. CBC gave us our only break. They TVed a portion of a speech I made in a north Toronto school--I never saw it but they apparently gave us about 3 minutes on Metro news and allowed me to develop a completed thought on low cost low rental housing. ..mentioning our position on nuclear threat. They ran no one else in that boradcast. After that the Globe and Mail reported my appearance at two local meetings. Our campaign was very bad for the big three dailies as they are all for Summerville and he is going to need every vote he can get if I guess right--they are of course cautiously utilizing the labor council's treacherous support of him add that is where we would cut in. Not a word was mentioned of our challenge to the labor fakers--although I gave a copy to each reporter and read part of it to the Teamsters meeting our boys pushed through. That was th only union meeting which I was able to address---never heard of any others.

I am enclosing ten bucks--e pitifully small amount but we have never been so broke as we are right now. Sorry that you have not received any money before now. Dont know what the comrades are thinking--that you can live on the ground nuts and rabbits you snare. Not having any money I suppose it was not possible for you to come in when I was in NY--possibly you did not know I was there. It was a hurried job--in and out.

I hear you are doing a good job at the school accoridng to Shaw who I stayed with on the Friday night I was there. Sorry I did not bring much down for you. I brought what Cliff told me to but then when I am there I find you want a typewriter--too bad. I had brought a copy of the Permanent Revolution along but then William Ferde told me that he is at the polishing up stage of the anthology that he has been working on and he has been waiting for a copy of the new edition so tha he could include parts of it. The proof copy I had sent along previousl turned out to be defective. So I gave him the copy that I had intended to give you. And our big order has not yet come in from England yet.

Tell me now what you must have. As soon as we get a little money together I will try and send you enough to pick up a typewriter in NY a small flat Japanese typewriter.

The BC NDP brass via the youth have expelled a dozen of our comrades and we are in the midst of a big fight. Everyone is conducting himself well---you would be proud of the way Vancouver reacted with the Crisis Kennedy provoked over Cuba. But I must away as I have been invited to address a group of 50 students at Ryerson on the validity of Marxism today--must be ready at 4 tomorrow and there will you can be sure many diversions in the meanwhile.

Hope you are keeping in touch with the Vancouver branch. Sending them a letter at least every five or six weeks about your experiences.

warmest regards

Ross

The camp will cash this MO for you

(incomplete)

December 4, 1962
81 Queen Street West

Dear Ernie

Sorry to be so long in taking up your excellent letter. But we had to get everything we could out of the election--and we did. I really feel like sitting back for a few days but I felt that way when I arrived here from Europe too. The European trip was an exhausting one even though I did take some days out for straight and simple sightseeing and as it was coming to and end I felt that we could well forego this years election campaign. We had no money and the time to get ready is nil but then what about our responsibility to the Cuban revolution and to humanity faceing the abyss of atomic destruction. Of course we had to go in and we did...and on a big scale. The vote is only the surface appearance of our impact. We got 1,119 votes but I feel confident that we have established Trotskyism as the only effective force for socialism in the area. On Tuesday night TV Metro News we got about 3 minutes viewing. I never saw it but many others did. Fistell phoned to tell us that it was first rate. It appears that they gave me an opportunity to develop a complete point on housing--low cost, low rental subsidiezed housing of which there is none in Toronto and how the administration is subsidizing the real estate corporations to sustain high rental and encourage private capital to reamin in this area. Fistell said the sound was tops and so was the photography. We were the only ones viewed. This was taken up at the most petty bouregois meeting in the city--John Ross Robertson on the edge of Forest Hill. I knoew at the time that I real shook that audience --particularly when I spoke on the overriding issue--nuclear war. Not a snicker--dead silence--seriousness and gestures from several in the audi ence of solid apporval. Last night I waited them out at the city hall election round-up conducted by CBC. I got 90 seconds according to George B and everyone says that it was good. Lois took notes and it appears that I scored the blackout which in the case of the Star this year was absolute, was indentified as a labor journalist and editor of the Workers Vanguard, commented on the objective conditions against the registry of a strong labor vote--attacked the labor leadership for their misure of the ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ resources of the union ranks to whom they were committed to espouse the NDP and not the cause of Tories, identifed ourselves with the NDP and the need for a labro administration and ended up on the danger of nuclear war and the need of the people of Toronto to bring their thinking up to the tempo of our times that pose the issue as being either capitalism or socialism. Pretty good for 90 seconds.of extremely valuable CBC time.

We were treated much more seriously than in recent years. Never was the balckout so complete--they knew we could only hurt their boy summerv ille. It is obvious they underestimated the capacity of their own machine to block rebel Nathan Phillips. One of the meetings at Hillcrest was all ours--the questions were placedby what appeared to be Voice of Women--the chairman who I used to know in Workmen Circle days was ecstatic with enthusiasm and I had to tear myself away. Alf Freidns came down to ask for three hundred copies to circulate amongst Committee of One Hundred supporters. The questions at the city hall meeting (the climax) were as if we had planted them. The ~~xxxxxx~~ Star never reported anything but

Phillips and Summerville. Away back on about page 20 the Telegram reported the also rans--but strange to say no mention was made of me. After three days of distribution it was apparent that we would be able to handle what we usually had handled in two weeks so we ordered another 20,000 leaflets. So in one week we half as much afain as we had heretofore done in two. Must have got about 700 signs up. Used as sound truck on Saturday--at the same time put a picket line weaving through the downtown crwod bolst ered up this time with the Grey Cup crowd. ut out 3,000 copies of an Italisn leaflets

And now we must get on with the paper and regear our forces for the next period ahead.

Yes it was a tremendous experience that I had in Europe. I met everyone I went from Lodnodon to the south coast of England to London to Paris to London to Belguium, to London to Blackpool to Leostof to London, to Paris to Amsterdam to Frankfort to Vienna to Venice, to Milan, to Bondon to Brighton to London to Paris to Zurich to Paris to London to oronto to New York to oronto.

It is a humbling experience to be in countries where one cannot speak the language and one is reduced to the level of the most ignorant and dumbest person in the country. At one point it seemd that I must have gone almost ten days without being able to say a word to anyone. It was only in Holland, Belgium and Austrai that one comes across English The two great cultural experiences I had were the sight of the Elgin marbles in the British Museum--I think I sent the tour a reproduction of part of them--and the Michelangelo museum in Florence which contains the unfinished tortured strivings of the human spirit of his last works and the incpmparable David. Venice is a remarkable sight but good only for the 48 hours that I was there. The most touristic town was Florence but one cannot help be oppressed by the surrounding poverty, the most interesting city Paris. I had hoped to go to Ireland--I met an longtime comrade who was most enthusiastic that I should visit him in Dublin--he works cheeck and jowl with Dr Noel Browne but my ticket would not permit me. I had a propeller job and at that time of the year only jets fly from Ireland to Canada so it would have meant spending another 30 or 40 dollars which I did not have. In fact when I arrived in England fully intending to stay three or four days to give myself time to see if I could interview the playright Arnold Wesker, see GH again and the Irish and others I found that I had to take the plane that night or stay on another five days and I was already in debt some 30 pounds and cutting close to nomination day in oronto.

As you can see from the ~~xmxmxmxm~~ places visited, the distances covered I was actually working Europe on a fairly tight schedule..... attending Parity Committee meeting, International Committee meetings and writing. I did a great deal of writing--primarily to help the Militant get underway with its eight page weekly but also to help me think--for as you know you cant thikn without writing or should I say that only though writing can one really think. ome of my articles didn't make publication. Cliff for some reason neglected to printed a couple of important ones and forgot to send on copies to the Militant. Even the Vanguard did not carry all the material I wrote up on the British Labor Party confernece--indeed we did not print some of the most important material which caused me no ends of creative pain. The YS still has an artivle that I wrote on the Dutch ~~xxxxxx~~ socialist youth movement. I havent been able to finish a lengthy article on Henrich uchbinder head of the European anti-nouelar arms movement who I stayed with in Zuric

I spent two whole days interviewing Peng and his wife and have done considerable preliminary rowk on two major articles that I think would be very useful to the ISR--and then I have lined up quite a bit of material on the most important working class cultural venture in the World th- what is known as Centre 42 headed up by Arnold Wesker. Did you see the movie of his play THE KITCHEN----I saw Chips with Everything Whn in London besides a terrific presentation of War and Peace which ended with the principle actor moving out onto the stage to make a tremndous statem ent against nuclear arms in the Tolstolian tradition.

I return with a fiar working knowledge of written French--the last 5 days I spent in Paris I did nothing but sleep andxxxxxx and eat and spend the other fourteen or fifteen hours a day reading Internal Bulletins of the IS/IEC. I have brought Ernest Mandels two volume work Traite d'Economie Marxiste back with me to read thoroughly if I can get a little of the mundane problems of the movement off my back. I intend to subscribe to Le Devoir so that I can keep up my French and give the paper a French Canada coverage. Ernest's book has sold out--it is two volumes and cost about $9 so it is a tremnendous success. The Economist reviewed it and gave it tremendous praise. WFW says it is the most remark able book in decades. It will probably be available in English in a year. I brought some other books back---photoessay book on the Paris Communie another on the 1848 Revolution--a book by Guerin on the youth--and his two volume work on the French revolution(en francaise) Also brought a most remarkably faithful reproduction of Michelangelo's David, and equisite Ventian glass ash tray, the most perfest jewel of a glass paper weight,not one of the remarkable $20 ones but a much more beautiful one that I fled away with after paying the asking price of 90 cents. A trem enous reproduction of Pablo Picasso's Guernica xxxxxxx--about 4 feet long which I think from the various reactions we will not hang up in the hall but keep downstairs. or in my apartment.

I met everyone as I said---but not the membership of the SLL. GH barred me from it--I attended an NC meeting. Of course on the continent I met the leaders as almost no one speaks English--although I attended a membership meeting of the Franch IS-IEC in Paris. I attended the first public mass meeting that the Franch CP had held in Paris for four or five months and hears Thorez. But I got a real feel of the British working class movement and fully intend within the next few weeks to set about seriously following developments in England.

In England the most favorable situation of anywhere in the world exists for our movement. But the SLL is missing the boat--and if there is no tremendous shake-up shortly will dissipate its present forces in sectarian futility.

Returned from visiting Milton Acron at Sunnybrooke to get this much off. Had to go to see him. He was asking about me. A week or so ago he almist succeeded in committing suicide--Gwen left him and he had so raphsodized himself with his poem I Shout Love that he placed love before life itself. I think that he will come out of it to be ctd

December 8, 1952 8th
Toronto

Ray of Prince Rupert

Dear Ray

I am not quite in a position to write you and Angus a real letter. But I thought I should write you a line right now to let you know that while you may have received no recognition during my absence the don tributions that you have been sending in have been received and put to very good use. The records show three coming in in the last while--- September 10--- August 21 and October 5. They inadvertently got alloc ated into the Toronto LSA account but I have transfered them to the Vanguard sustaining account where they belong.

It would appear that things went along very well while I was away. The youth group has continued to grww here--as it has in Vancouver and is developing some real leaders. The LSA also continued to grwo--the paper came out, the store went on--in fact it would seem that my absence had no effect but beneficial--that comrades moved in and did things that they didn't do before. And so did I do things that I have nver done ~~xfxxx~~ before which I am going to have to continue to do. For the first time the Canadian Trotskyist played a role in the world movement. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

The 3½ months was a tremendous experience for me--a long time but all too short. I met all the leading figures in our movement both in the IS-IEC groups and in the IC groups. That in itself is a valuable exper- ience both for us and for them. On top of that I feel that I got a real understanding of the British working class movement. Add to that via forced march I have managed to pick up my French again and can now read it with comparative ease.

I am going to keep up with British developments by continuing to read the important British press and I am going to keep up with my French and put it to good use by reading the most important Montreal French daily---this should also keep the Vanguard more in touch with Quebec developments

But as I say I will be writing at greater length shortly. Incidently I took Angus' last letter along with me to answer when I was in Europe and when I came to do so found he had not put his address on it and I had forgotten the address. Sorry to have missed him in his sitting out operation on the northern side of the Detroit river.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

Sunday afternoon
December 9, 1962

Dear Ruth;

The letter you refer to in your wire did not arrive Saturday as I had hoped it would so I am writing you these few lines. I gather it will be in tommorrow's mail and then we can get to grips with the question.

We have pulled all the material with regards to the expulsions--both Ernie's newsarticle and the formal statement --and will hold them out until we hear from you. It is most important that we have a full discussion on our whole policy---rather late in the day but better late than never.

I note your comments "we are somewhat outraged at your suggestion this should have been an matter since it was nenver on that level before(case of Skoglund) We think it very wrong to apparently lightly toss it to that plane" If you refer to the Toronto minutes you will seee the parting of the ways came owing to domestic difficultues and was without prejudice as to his return."

Aside from wondering why you should be "outraged" and why you should think,let alone write ,that the matter is being "apparently lightly"tossed onto the NC plane, I think you will find that you are looking at some previous stage of our experience with Skoglund. I have checked the 1962 minutes and found the records re Skoglund as attached. But even this record does not give a real picture of our experience.

With regards to ouour comments in the previous letter. We of course answered immediately you raised the matter of Skoglund--theletter was in the mail within two hours of receiving yours. Article VIII Section6 of the constitution reads "Persons who in the past have been expelled from the party or who have resigned from it may not be readmitted to the Party with out the approval of the National Committee." I do not want to appear to be a narrow constitutionalist but I think that you can assume that I am trying to play a serious role in the movement, not light minded, capable of making mistakes of course, not desiring to outrage anyone but to develop a really profound collaboration which is difficult enough due to the vast distances that separate us.

Looking forward to your letter so that we can know how to treat the expulsions in the paper.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

December 10, 1962

Vancouver

Dear Ruth; B

Thanks for your prompt reply to my telegram. We are now in the process of rewriting the paper. This is the big development for the readers of our paper---its proscription by the BC NDP brass. We are going to give it the full treatment so that everyone knows about it and what it means.We of course were holding everything until we heard from you--we decided to hold everything when you drop us your first letter about the discussion on our line. This of course had to be solved one way or the other by the NC.

Last night while we were working up material but not puting it into the printer we received a phone call from a contact that the story of the expulsions broke over one of the radio networks. --that he heard it on one of the oronto stations. I have been anticipating such a development for it is a mystery to me how Clifford and company could anticipate that you could send out some 500 leafletsm hold ~~x~~ meetinks on such a developments and hope that there would be no break to the press. This is of course aside from whether it is to the advantage of the struggle for those who are being victimized to hold their tongues while the right wing goes about through the many channels open to it to do a job on us with slander gossip innuendo changing the whole relation ship of forces to our disfavor.

Now that the story has broken in the oronto papers--all three this morning I went about knocking out a press release. This is better than waiting to be phoned by some reporter and being at his mercy of interpretation. We have sent this release to all the papers here--to CBC, to Canadian press and also to both the Vancouver Sun and the Vancouver province. We had a quick consultation and three of the NC members out of the five have read it discussed it and approved of it.

Meanwhile waiting to ~~xxxx~~ receive the letter that I had anticip ated receiving in this mornings ~~paper~~. Anxious that the paper will reflect your thinking. We are now busily re--writing it all. For instnace we were going to carry a roun-up on how the various currents met the Cuba-US crisis. We have now decided to rewrite this by concentrating all our fire on the position of the NDP brass then carry as many good statements as we can find in the Sask Commnowealth--there were a few by Beisick etc.

This of course is for your and the NC members info-not the branch

P.S. to Ernie So we will know what to do with his article

December 27, 1962

Vancouver

Dear Ruth;

There are a few details with regards to the status and handling of the Whitney clique that I would like to get straithened out with your help so that we know just where we stand. I have gone through the minutes and have gathered the following dats

Charlie R--October 19 dropped and put on sympathizers list

Leslie M --Augu 31 droppel to sympathizers list
September 21 Leslie M agreed to action taken on his membership by the branch

Harold R Augsut 31 Harold placed on sympathizers list-due to lack of acti

McGarvie-- Recommended that he be placed on sympahtizers list.

I am clear on how we handled Ken G,Bill and Lil W but not on the above and the rest.

I do not understand the notation dropped to sympathizers list. Have these persons resigned from membership, voluntarily and therefore we have decided to keep them on sympathizers list. Or have they been deprived by action on our part of their membership rights and relegated to the status of sympathizer? If we deprived any of them of membership what were the formal charges, was there a trial , did they attend upon notification.

I would just like clarification so that we know where things actually stand.

fraternally

Ross

December 28, 1962

Vancouver

Ruth;

This short note was originally designed to get into your hands the few comments of interest in Picketts report --would see that the youth get a copy.

But there is one small matter. This question of the LSA not being a membership organization. It would be well that we do not get at cross purposes with this. We have presented the ISA as a left, a socialist caucus in the NDP. But every caucus that I was acquainted with was restricted--restricted to those who were thought to be in agreement with its purpose. If a caucus is open it cannot exist for those who are opposed to its purpose would just come in and argue it down. Of course most caucuses are short range, have a limited purpose--get so and so elected or some such task. We are a long range one with an agreement on a higher plane. It would seem to me apparent that it is restricted.... and in this sense has membership. It has a sustained organization form ---it publishes a paper, it holds forums with subject and speakers decided by someone, it has a headquarters which it sustains. In fact it has a national secretary-myself. The Vanguard ocassionaly has statements --by the Editors. Who are they, how are they chosen. It is a national organization with a person who is a longstanding Trotskyist who is national secretary--how is he chosen. It would seem apparent that it has national conferences of sometix type

Let me know your thoughts on this so as I say we dont get at cross purposes

fraternally

Ross

— Ruby should I ?